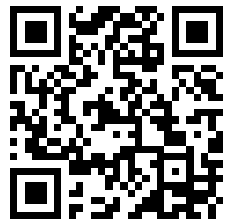


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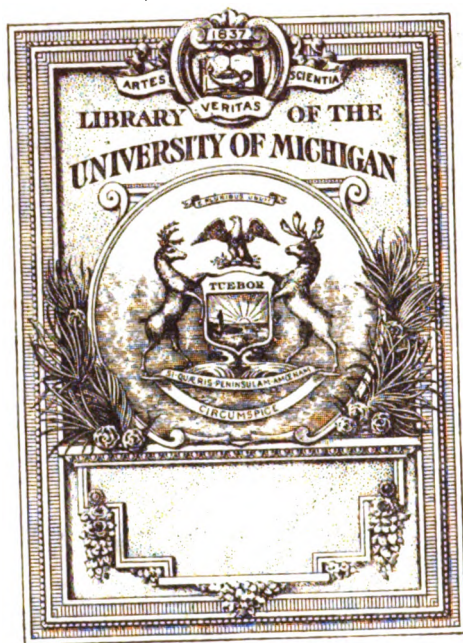
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NUMBER 1

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

THE THEBAN NECROPOLIS IN THE MIDDLE KINGDOM. <i>By H. E. Winlock</i>	1-37
THE HITTITE MATERIAL IN THE CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS. <i>By J. Dyneley Prince</i>	38-63
ASSYR. <i>ramku</i> , "PRIEST"=HEB. <i>komer</i> . <i>By Paul Haupt</i>	64-75
BOOK REVIEWS - - - - -	76-80
Langdon, Tammuz and Ishtar. <i>By D. D. Luckenbill</i>	

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## OCTOBER 1915

THE THEBAN NECROPOLIS IN THE MIDDLE KINGDOM. <i>By H. E. Winlock</i>	-	1-37
THE HITTITE MATERIAL IN THE CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS. <i>By J. Dyneley Prince</i>	- - - - -	38-63
ASSYR. <i>ramku</i> , "PRIEST" = HEB. <i>komer</i> . <i>By Paul Haupt</i>	- - - - -	64-75
BOOK NOTICES	- - - - -	76-80
Langdon, Tammuz, and Ishtar. <i>By D. D. Luckenbill</i>		

## JANUARY 1916

SOME PROBLEMS IN THE EARLY HISTORY OF HEBREW RELIGION. <i>By J. M. Powis Smith</i>	- - - - -	81-97
A LETTER OF RIM-SIN. <i>By D. D. Luckenbill</i>	- - - - -	98-101
NEW INSCRIPTIONS OF NABUNA'ID. <i>By S. Langdon</i>	- - - - -	102-117
DAVID'S LAMENT OVER SAUL AND JONATHAN: II SAM. 1:19-27. <i>By James Kennedy</i>	- - - - -	118-125
HEXAPLA AND HEXAPLARIC. <i>By Max L. Margolis</i>	- - - - -	126-140
CRITICAL NOTES. <i>By Paul Haupt</i>	- - - - -	141-144

## APRIL 1916

ANTONIUS RHETOR ON VERSIFICATION. WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND TWO APPENDICES. <i>By Martin Sprengling</i>	- - - - -	145-216
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## JULY 1916

EDITORIAL: A QUARTER-CENTENNIAL ISSUE	- - - - -	217-218
A HALF-CENTURY OF BIBLICAL AND SEMITIC INVESTIGATION. <i>By Leroy Waterman</i>	- - - - -	219-229
THE PHYSICAL PROCESSES OF WRITING IN THE EARLY ORIENT AND THEIR RELATION TO THE ORIGIN OF THE ALPHABET. <i>By James H. Breasted</i>	-	230-249
SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE FINANCIAL IMPORTANCE OF THE TEMPLE IN THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON. <i>By Ira M. Price</i>	- - - - -	250-260
THE EFFECT OF THE DISRUPTION ON THE HEBREW THOUGHT OF GOD. <i>By J. M. Powis Smith</i>	- - - - -	261-269
OLD BABYLONIAN LETTERS FROM BISMYA. <i>By D. D. Luckenbill</i>	- - - - -	270-292
SEVERUS BAR SHAKKO, "Poetics" PART II. <i>By Martin Sprengling</i>	- - - - -	293-308
SHORT NOTICES	- - - - -	309-311
Babylonian Loan-Words as Evidence of the Influence of Babylonian Culture. <i>D. D. Luckenbill.</i> —Old Babylonian Letters, <i>D. D. Luckenbill.</i> —Legal and Administrative Documents, <i>D. D. Luckenbill</i>		



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VOLUME XXXII

OCTOBER 1915

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NUMBER 1

## THE THEBAN NECROPOLIS IN THE MIDDLE KINGDOM

By H. E. WINLOCK  
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

The following notes on the topography of Thebes have been made in connection with the excavations of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Its work during the past three seasons has brought to light several tombs of the Middle Kingdom in the Assâsf-Deir el Bahri valley which were so plundered and so often reoccupied that on internal evidence alone it was difficult to fix the exact date of their original occupation. Attention was turned, therefore, to a tentative reconstruction of the general history of the whole Middle Kingdom Necropolis, for a working scheme in which to place the Assâsf tombs. These notes have gradually gone somewhat beyond the original intention, but they remain still only a working scheme subject to revision at the conclusion of the excavations which have been in progress in recent years. While on many points it is impossible to come to definitely demonstrable conclusions, still the publication of any material on this subject seems to me to be justified by the fact that the study of the growth of the Theban Necropolis through the successive periods of its history has not been developed of late as consistently as it deserves.

At present it is impossible to carry this study back beyond the First Theban Period, as Thebes of the Memphite Period remains in obscurity. Practically nothing is known of the town, and as only

two tombs<sup>1</sup> have yet been discovered which can be assigned to the Old Kingdom with any probability, there is little to be learned about the earliest necropolis.

#### THE ELEVENTH-DYNASTY KINGS

To understand the necropolis during the First Theban Period a digression will be necessary on the history of the Eleventh Dynasty. Many of the most important documents on this period are recent discoveries and their interpretation has not yet crystallized into a universally accepted one. The most noteworthy contributions in this line have been those of Naville, Meyer, and Breasted, but as none appear to me wholly to fit the physical facts in the necropolis as we know them at present, it seems worth while to attempt an arrangement differing in some details from any which I have seen so far.




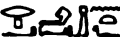

The history of the Eleventh Dynasty falls naturally into three periods: the first, during which the members of the family were merely local Theban princes; the second, while they claimed kingship over Upper Egypt; and the third, from the final overthrow of the Heracleopolitan Kings and the subjugation of Middle and Lower Egypt, to the rise of the Twelfth Dynasty.

Of the first period, we can reconstruct the history in a general way but still have a great deal of trouble in filling in the details. At the outset of the Tenth, Heracleopolitan, Dynasty it is reasonable to suppose that the sovereignty of the Middle Egyptian Kings was recognized, at least nominally, by all Upper Egypt including Thebes. As in Siut, so in Upper Egypt, the leading families of each district held the hereditary office of nomarch among their members. Thebes was ruled by a family in which the name Intef was borne by generation after generation, and which seems to have been endowed with the same vigor and initiative which made the Theban rulers of some five centuries later the spokesmen of their neighbors in the wars of liberation against the Hyksos. While Siut remained the bulwark

<sup>1</sup> Nos. 185 and 186 in Gardiner and Weigall, *Topographical Catalogue*, both on the eastern end of the Khôkkeh; in the map, Fig. 1, marked "O.K. Tombs." No. 186, that of Ihy a nomarch (of Thebes?), was discovered by Newberry and described by him in the *Annales*, IV, 97. The suggestion made by Hall and King, *Egypt and Western Asia*, p. 320, that many of the tombs on Sheikh Abd el Kurneh are Old Kingdom ones re-used in the Empire, remains to be proved.

of the waning Heracleopolitan power, Upper Egypt as far south as Elephantine became firmly united under the hegemony of Thebes during the Tenth Dynasty, and rose in open revolt under one of the Theban nomarchs, Prince Intef.

From this period in the history of the Theban family we have at present the following names:

- (A) The Prince and Nomarch of Thebes Intef,  of Stela No. 1 below, on p. 13.
- (B) The Prince Intef-o, son of Ikui,  to whom a statue was dedicated by his descendant Sesostri I,<sup>1</sup> and whose name occurs on Stela No. 2 where mention is made of .
- (C) The Prince Intef,  placed by Thotmes III among his ancestors in the Karnak list.
- (D) The Prince of Upper Egypt Intef,  of Stela No. 3.

In spite of the generally accepted opinion I am inclined to regard the first name on the list, the Nomarch of Thebes Intef, as standing apart from the rest, first because I believe his stela is more primitive than those on which the other names occur; secondly because the title limits his hereditary domain to the Theban nome even though his administration went to the Cataract; and thirdly because he acknowledges an over-lord, and it hardly seems likely that he would be singled out for honors by Sesostri I and Thotmes III, unless, indeed, he were the actual founder of the line. In any case he may be regarded as one of the early Theban nomarchs, later probably than Ihy of Tomb 186, but still one of the faithful adherents of the Heracleopolitan house. However it seems probable to me that B and C, ancestors of the Twelfth and Eighteenth Dynasty Kings, are one and the same person, who may be also D, and who would have been therefore the Prince of Upper Egypt Intef, or Intef-o, son of Ikui. If this be taken for granted we may see in him the originator of revolt against the Heracleopolitans, or its first successful leader, whose memory was cherished by Theban kings for at least seven centuries.

<sup>1</sup> Legrain, *Rec. Trav.*, XXII, 64, and *B.A.R.*, I, § 419.

Above, in sketching the history of the period, I have taken for granted that the nomarchs of Thebes were a local family, which seems justified until the contrary is proved conclusively. However the popularity of the cult of Montu, during the dynasty, has always suggested some connection between the Theban family and the ancient source of the cult of Montu, the nearby town of Hermonthis. The theory of a connection between the Eleventh Dynasty rulers and Hermonthis has taken two forms: the first, originating with Lange and Breasted, deriving the family from an ancestor Intef son of Maît who was supposed to be a Prince in Hermonthis; the second, that of Meyer, which takes the nomarch Iḥy for a nomarch of Hermonthis and supposes Hermonthis to have been the capital, presumably, of the Theban nome between the Sixth and Eleventh dynasties.

So far as I can see, Meyer's theory<sup>1</sup> rests on the invocation of Montu Lord of Hermonthis in the tomb of Iḥy, but as Hathor Lady of Denderah is equally honored there the argument loses force. Moreover it is inconceivable that a nomarch who was buried in so small and insignificant a tomb as is that of Iḥy should have gone to the trouble and expense of constructing his tomb at such a distance from his residence on a spot which, so far as we know, did not have any especial religious association in his day. On the contrary there is every reason to believe that the Old Kingdom notables of Hermonthis were buried in some of the cemeteries closely adjoining their town, just as the notables of Denderah were buried in the desert immediately beside theirs.

What we do learn from the tomb of Iḥy is that by the end of the Old Kingdom the worship of Hathor Lady of Denderah and Montu Lord of Hermonthis existed in the neighboring town of Thebes. The local god, even as early as the Fourth Dynasty, was Amon,<sup>2</sup> but Montu had become so popular that on occasion he was even


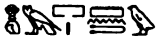
<sup>1</sup> Meyer, *Geschichte*, 3d ed., I, 252-53.

<sup>2</sup> He occurs as such, if I remember rightly, in the triads from the Mycerinus Temple found by Reisner. Professor Breasted calls my attention to the occurrence of the name of Montu in the Pyramid Texts (oftener than that of Amon, who perhaps does not appear there at all) and suggests that there may have been an early political supremacy of Hermonthis to bring about this result. This seems quite possible, but it would belong to a period considerably earlier than the Intefs we are now considering, while the Pyramid Texts were still taking form.











the parallel titles cited by Lange as "Prince in Hermonthis"  on an Eleventh Dynasty stela from Thebes in Florence, and  on a Twelfth Dynasty stela of a Theban priest in Paris, as well as this one borne by Intef son of Maît, are all borne by priestly dignitaries in Thebes and may not necessarily denote an independent rulership in Hermonthis.


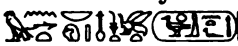

It seems safest, therefore, to adopt the simplest conclusion—that the early nomarchs were of a long established local family who favored the cults of two deities of the neighboring towns imported into Thebes generations before their revolt. That they married into the families of the vicinity is more than likely, but, granted this much, it is far easier to prove close relationship with Denderah where the king's daughter and royal wife Neferukait held estates<sup>1</sup> than it is to establish an actual connection between Hermonthis and the nomarchs and the Intef kings who head the line. What relationship was borne to them and to Hermonthis by the four Mentuhoteps who followed can only be surmised.<sup>2</sup>

The second period in the history of the Eleventh Dynasty is much clearer, thanks to the information supplied by the stelae in the list below numbered 4, 5, and 7, and especially by Nos. 9 and 10 with their short biographies of individuals who lived under Intef I, Intef II, and Mentuhotep I.<sup>3</sup> The period opens with the reign of

<sup>1</sup> Petrie, *Denderah*, p. 51 and Pl. XV, Lange-Schäfer, *loc. cit.*, 20543. Neferukait inherited her estates in Denderah from her mother, whose domain, from Elephantine to Aphroditopolis, being identical with that established in the reign of Intef I, suggests she was his wife or that of Intef II or Mentuhotep I. Neferukait appears to have left her hereditary estates in Denderah in the hands of a steward while she presumably lived at Thebes.

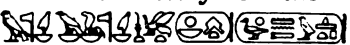
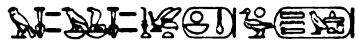
<sup>2</sup> The point is not essential to the purposes of this article. The first Mentuhotep appears to have followed the burial customs of his predecessors who were certainly Theban.

<sup>3</sup> The best historical treatment of the period is that of Breasted, *History*, 2d ed., pp. 150-51. The material bearing on it has been dealt with by Naville in *XIth Dyn. Temple at Deir el Bahari*, I, 1, and II, 10, and later in *J. Z.*, 1910, p. 82, and 1912, p. 14. Their main conclusions have been followed here with the exception of Naville's enumeration of the Intefs. I have preferred to call the first of the name to assume royal titles, Intef I, leaving in another series those of the name who were only princes, especially as we do not know how many of them there were. Burchardt and Pieper, following Meyer's reconstruction of the period, in their *Handbuch der ägypt. Königsnamen*, pp. III and 22 ff., put before Intef I  and  of the Karnak list, who probably represent Mentuhotep I and Intef I or II misplaced, as Naville has shown. Again between Intef II and Mentuhotep I they introduce  and . The Horus name of the first suggests the period between the XII and XVIII dynasties, and the two cartouches of the second a date at least later than Mentuhotep I.

a commanding personality whose name was honored throughout the Middle Kingdom and whose tomb was kept up as long as there were Theban monarchs—the Horus Wah-ankh Intef-o I. The revolt prospered, Intef I assumed many of the dignities and titles of a king—<sup>1</sup>—although recognized only in Upper Egypt, and he carried the war aggressively against Khety II and Merikare, captured the nome of Thinis from them, and finally set his boundary as far north as the Serpent Nome near Kau el Kebir.<sup>2</sup> At the end of a reign of at least 50 years Intef I was succeeded by his son the Horus Nekht Neb-tep-nefer Intef-o II——who retained but does not appear to have enlarged his father's dominions during his own short reign, for a rebellion had to be subdued in Thinis as late as the fourteenth year of his successor, the Horus S-ankh-ib-taui Mentuhotep I—.

Wars had now been going on intermittently for three generations and the position of Thebes as chief town of Upper Egypt was assured. The control of the South and of the trade with the North had increased the wealth and power of the Theban family to such a point that finally it was in a position to overcome the dynasty of Heracleopolis and gain the whole of Egypt.

The third period of the Eleventh Dynasty has left more numerous and more important monuments than the earlier two, but owing to our unfortunate lack of any inscriptions overlapping from one reign to another the order of the kings is left in some uncertainty.

The most difficult problem in the history of the whole dynasty arises with the names  and  at the beginning of this period. Both names appear on parts of the temple at Deir el Bahri and it is there that the problem is best studied, in the shrine-like tombs of the

<sup>1</sup> Uniformity in the use of cartouches and the writing of kings' names did not prevail in the Eleventh Dynasty until its close. The names will be used here only in what seems to be the regular form.

<sup>2</sup> In addition to Breasted and Naville as cited above see Gardiner, *Jour. of Eg. Arch.*, I, 23, and Newberry, *P.S.B.A.*, XXXV, 120.

<sup>3</sup> The name is written simply  on Stela No. 8 below.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Gardiner, *op. cit.*, for the rebellion of Thinis. That Intef II's reign was short may be reasonably inferred from the fact that at least two officials of his father lived to serve under his successor—see Stelae Nos. 9 and 10 below.

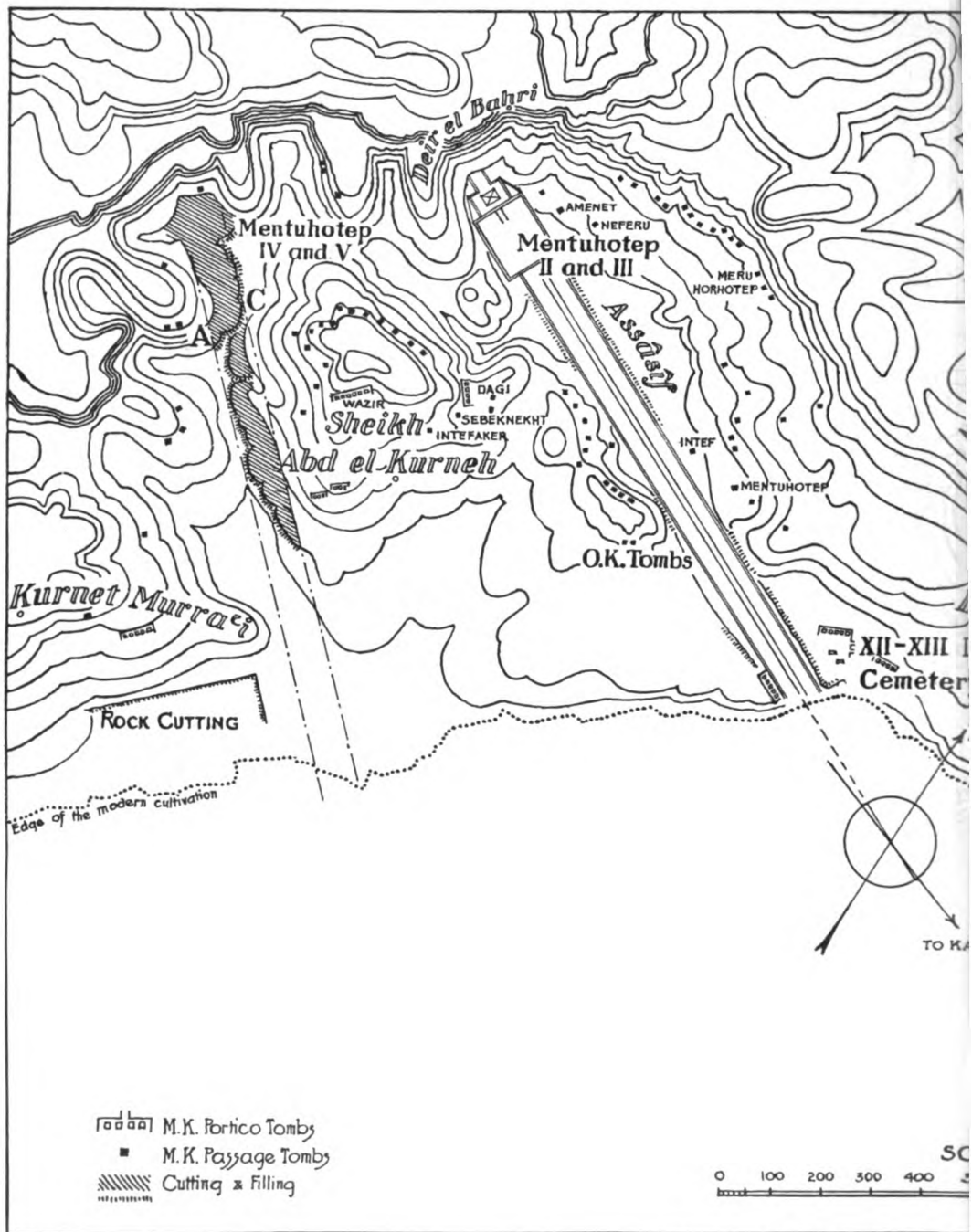
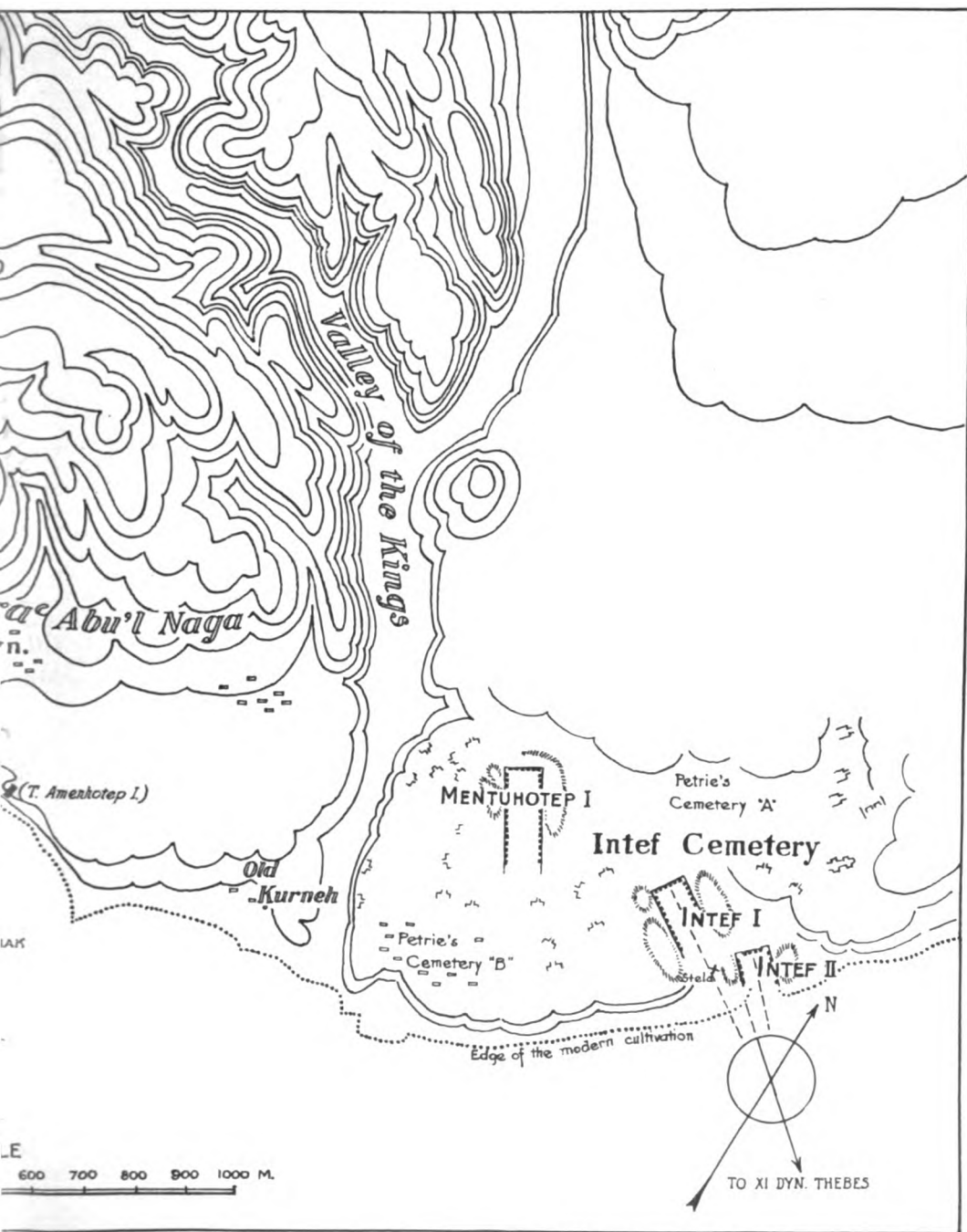






















FIG. 1.—Sketch Map of the Theban



Necropolis in the Middle Kingdom

princesses of . Borchardt<sup>1</sup> first called attention to the fact that the constructions of  were built over and after the "shrines," and before I had learned of his article I had already come to the same conclusion independently. Naville, while admitting that the "shrines" and tombs of the period of  lie under the walls and columns of , supposes that the latter were removed temporarily to place the former under them.<sup>2</sup> Not only is this improbable, but the remains of the shrines still *in situ* show it to be impossible and that therefore  must belong before . Burchardt and Pieper<sup>3</sup> make one king "116 Mentuhotep III" of the two names, and von Bissing<sup>4</sup> sees in them one king whose original names were   but who changed his Horus name to  and spelled his prenomen  after he had united the Two Lands of Egypt. But on the other hand it is hard to overlook, first, the two distinct periods in the plan of the Eleventh Dynasty Deir el Baḥri Temple, and the consistency with which the name  appears in the first and  in the second; second, that in this period of lax orthography of kings' names no confusion has ever been found between the two sets of names either at Deir el Baḥri or anywhere else; and, third, that it is not absolutely certain that the two names  and  were identical in meaning and in sound in the Eleventh Dynasty. Although  and  may have been identical in sound in the Old Kingdom, at a later date  may have taken the value *h'p* while  retained the value *hpt* and this distinction may have been current in Thebes at the outset of the Middle Kingdom.<sup>5</sup> If this be so, then Mentuhotep III took as a throne name one which, while not identical with that of his predecessor, was a sort of a pun on it. In any case the subject of the Kings  and  will remain a difficult one until either a confusion between the prenomen and Horus names of the two can be established as proving their identity, or a stela be found of an

<sup>1</sup> *Zeit. für Geschichte der Architektur*, III, 81. Meyer, *Gesch. des Altertums*, I, 257, uses these data and thereby arrives at conclusions similar to those proposed here.

<sup>2</sup> *A.Z.*, 1910, p. 85.

<sup>3</sup> *Königenamen*, pp. 23-24.

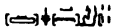
<sup>4</sup> *Rec. Trav.*, XXXIII, 21 and 26, n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> For this suggestion I have to thank Miss O. L. Ransom. Breasted, *History*, 2d ed., p. 598, has already recognized this distinction in the two names and has transliterated them *Nibhapetre* and *Nibhepetre*.

individual who served under both in succession as proving their duality. Believing that historical probability favors the latter solution I have adopted for the present a Neb-ḥapet-re Mentuhotep II and a Neb-ḥepet-re Mentuhotep III, but I realize there is a possibility of their identity until two royal burial places can be established at Deir el Bahri.<sup>1</sup>

The arrangement of the third period of the Eleventh Dynasty suggested here differs from Breasted's in the position assigned to Neb-taui-re Mentuhotep IV. In his first arrangement he placed Neb-taui-re at the end of the dynasty after S-ankh-ka-re to fill an apparent lacuna in the Turin Papyrus,<sup>2</sup> and since then he has placed him between Mentuhotep II and III.<sup>3</sup> Definite data on the position of this king are lacking, but there is a strong probability against placing him between the two builders of the Deir el Bahri Temple because his name occurs there but once,<sup>4</sup> and it is to be expected that he would have left more impress on a building begun by his predecessor and finished by his successor. If we place Neb-taui-re after Mentuhotep III<sup>5</sup> we find that this order fits in very well with the fact that Neb-taui-re Mentuhotep celebrated a Sed Jubilee in his second year. This allows us to take him for a son of Mentuhotep III,<sup>6</sup> who was associated with his father as co-regent in or after the latter's eighteenth year, depending on how many years more than forty-six the father reigned.<sup>7</sup> I have, therefore, followed the usual arrangement of the dynasty which places S-ankh-ka-re at the end.

<sup>1</sup> The total number of kings in the dynasty as given by the Turin Papyrus being either 6 or 7, no information is available there. See next note.

<sup>2</sup> *Am. Jour. of Sem. Lang.*, XXI, 113 and 165, and *Records*, I, § 415. Sethe, *A.Z.*, 1905, p. 131, proved there was no lacuna at this point, but that the signs were to be read  — "together six kings." Equally well it may be "seven kings." No other numerals except these two are possible, however.

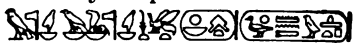
<sup>3</sup> *History of Egypt*, 2d ed., pp. 52 and 598.

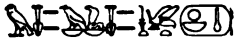
<sup>4</sup> Naville, *op. cit.*, I, 8.


<sup>5</sup> This is the order adopted by Meyer, *Gesch. des Altertums*, I, 280. The Intef of Shat er Rigaleh, often regarded as a successor of Mentuhotep III (cf. Burchardt and Pieper, *Königsnamen*, No. 117), was not, I believe, a Theban king at all, but a vassal. Naville takes him for a son of Mentuhotep III who did not live to reign (*op. cit.*, I, 7). Sethe's idea that he was Wah-ankh Intef I (*A.Z.*, 1905, p. 133) and his consequent reconstruction of the dynasty rest on a mistaken reading of the incomplete prenomen of Mentuhotep I for that of Mentuhotep V.

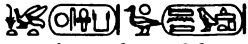
<sup>6</sup> Naville, *op. cit.*, I, 7, notes a son of Mentuhotep III named Mentuhotep.

<sup>7</sup> *B.A.R.*, I, § 418e.

Briefly told, the history of the third period of the Eleventh Dynasty was about as follows.<sup>1</sup> The turning-point in the fortunes of Thebes came with the successful conclusion of the war against Heracleopolis in the time of Neb-ḥepet-re Mentuhotep II, whose sovereignty over the whole of Egypt is reflected in the full royal protocol with two cartouches which he adopted . Something of provincialism and even of barbarism is reflected in the monuments of this first Theban king, but he ruled all Egypt energetically from the new capital Thebes, he waged war victoriously against both Egyptians and foreigners, he built temples, among other places at Gebelein, and for his tomb erected a pyramid and its dependencies at Deir el Bahri on a more magnificent scale than his predecessors had ever attempted.

His successor Neb-ḥepet-re Mentuhotep III  in a long reign of nearly half a century surpassed even his immediate predecessor and established the power of the Theban family so firmly that his memory was held in great veneration until the end of the Empire as the greatest benefactor of Thebes in the Eleventh Dynasty. The arts lost much of their provincialism in Upper Egypt and the family mausoleum at Deir el Bahri was enlarged until nearly all trace of its founder's plan disappeared.

Mentuhotep III's son, associated with him as co-regent early in his reign, succeeded to the throne as Neb-taui-re Mentuhotep IV——and, ambitious of excelling his father, sent immediately to the Wadi Hammamat for stone for his sarcophagus, but, being presumably past middle age, died soon after his accession.

His successor S-ankh-ka-re Mentuhotep V——was a king of more importance whose reign may have lasted long enough to justify his celebration of a Sed Jubilee<sup>2</sup> and whose fame warranted the inclusion of his name in the Sakkara and Abydos Lists by the Memphite chroniclers of the Empire. Everything that remains of these last four Mentuhoteps shows them to have been kings of undisputed power throughout all Egypt, in control of all

<sup>1</sup> Compare Breasted, *History of Egypt*, 1st and 2d eds.

<sup>2</sup> See Petrie, *Qurneh*, p. 6.

the resources of the country, and in a position to raise large levies of corvée labor for their building operations. On the extinction of the line of the Intefs and the Mentuhoteps with the death of S-ankh-ka-re, there arose a new royal family headed by Amenemhat I whose throne name, S-hotep-ib-re, was adopted in conscious imitation of that of his predecessor. The new family was Theban in origin, but ruled the country for political reasons from Lisht where the new royal cemetery was established.

Before passing to a review of the monuments in the Theban Necropolis left by the Eleventh Dynasty rulers, it may be convenient to give a list of the latter in the order proposed above:

Nomarch of Thebes Intef.	
Prince Intef son of Ikui,	} possibly one person.
Prince Intef (of the Karnak List),	
Prince of Upper Egypt Intef,	

Horus Wah-ankh Intef I.  
 Horus Nekht Neb-tep-nefer Intef II.  
 Horus S-ankh-ib-taui Mentuhotep I.

Neb-ḥapet-re Mentuhotep II.  
 Neb-ḥepet-re Mentuhotep III.  
 Neb-taui-re Mentuhotep IV.  
 S-ankh-ka-re Mentuhotep V.

#### THE INTEF CEMETERY

The cemetery of the early part of the Eleventh Dynasty has long been known, but the fact has frequently been lost sight of in late years. As long ago as 1835 Wilkinson recognized that the earliest tombs were north of Old Kurneh.<sup>1</sup> There Mariette found the stelae of the nomarch Intef and of Intef I, but he unfortunately stated their provenance to be Dra' Abu'l Naga, with unfortunate results as we shall see. Maspero recovered part of the stela of Intef I and later Daressy recovered more of it and other stelae from the site, the location of which he fixed accurately. Based on their work is

<sup>1</sup> Wilkinson, *Topography of Thebes*, p. 125. The site is marked "Intef Cemetery" on the map, Fig. 1. Locally the plain is called *et Tara*—"the end"—as Mr. Carter has told me. The term "Antef Cemetery" originated with Petrie, who recognized its period, but not its royal character.



Maspero's small, but very useful, map,<sup>1</sup> with the Middle Kingdom burial places correctly located as far as they were then known; but Schweinfurth does not seem to have been familiar with this information as on his map the Intef Cemetery is marked "Gesellschaftsgräber (griech. röm. Epoche)."<sup>2</sup> The excavations of this site on the largest scale up to the present have been those of Petrie,<sup>3</sup> but even his work covered only a small proportion of its extent and, moreover, he makes no mention of the work of his predecessors nor of the gigantic *saffs* which are the most characteristic features of the place, and which prove to be of great importance. Up to the present the majority of the antiquities which come from this cemetery are from native plundering and the average visitor to Thebes remains in ignorance of its location.

I believe that the reason why the actual position of the Intef Cemetery has not been more generally recognized is due to the common practice, originating with Mariette, of describing the antiquities from the site as coming from Dra' Abu'l Naga. In reality the Intef Cemetery lies in the plain north and east of the mouth of the Valley of the Kings, while properly speaking the Dra' Abu'l Naga is the hill between the latter and the Assâsif (see the map, Fig. 1). From this unfortunate use of the name of the hill, applied to the plain, a good deal of confusion has resulted. For instance, from the Abbot Papyrus Intef I is known to have had a pyramid; his stela is said to have come from Dra' Abu'l Naga, and on the hill of that name there are the ruins of brick pyramids. Consequently these latter pyramids are often taken for those of the Eleventh Dynasty kings, when as a matter of fact they date from the Eighteenth and Nineteenth dynasties. Regarding the Intef Pyramids there is another correction to be made. The small brick pyramid published by Maspero from a drawing by Prisse, as that of an Eleventh Dynasty Intef in Dra' Abu'l Naga, now destroyed,<sup>4</sup> in reality is a Saïte pyramid still existing near the Mentu-mhat pylons in the Assâsif (Fig. 5). It is shown as sketched by

<sup>1</sup> *Struggle of the Nations*, pp. 309, 506.

<sup>2</sup> *Karte der west. Umgebung von Luksor und Karnak*, Berlin, 1909.


<sup>3</sup> Petrie, *Qurneh*, pp. 2 ff. He published no map of these excavations, but Mr. Mackay, who was with him at the time, has kindly pointed out to me the locations of "Cemeteries A and B," and told me that the Stela of Zari came from the former.

<sup>4</sup> In the *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 459, and most recently in *Art in Egypt*, Fig. 178. It is planned and the site correctly given in *L.D.*, I, 94.

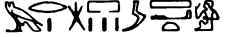

Prisse and as photographed recently, in Fig. 2, and the details are so much alike in both illustrations that it is impossible to doubt their identity.

The evidence on which the cemetery in the plain beyond Old Kurneh is dated to the early Eleventh Dynasty is comprised in a series of grave stelae now in the museums in Cairo, Europe, and America. Below I have drawn up a list of those stelae of which I know, and regarding which there are reasonable grounds for believing that they came from this site, marking with an asterisk (\*) those of which the finding-place is certain. The stelae are of limestone, rectangular in shape, and were probably let into the tomb façades. In style of sculpture they present such strong similarities to the contemporary work from Denderah that they are evidently from the same school of art—labored and painstaking in the execution of details, but clumsy and crude in the conception of form. It is a style which lasts until the reign of Mentuhotep II, but which was largely outgrown under his successor.<sup>1</sup>

#### *Early Period*

- (1) *Nomarch Intef*: . Found by Mariette, it is said "in Dra' Abu'l Naga," but probably in the neighborhood in which No. 4 was discovered; now in Cairo. Published by Lange and Schäfer, *Grabsteine*, 20009; Mariette, *Mon. divers*, Pl. 50b; Maspero, *Guide*, and *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 115; and *B.A.R.*, I, § 419.

#### *Period of Intef son of Ikui*

- \*(2) *Maat*: . Found by natives in the Intef Cemetery, and procured with No. 8; now in the Metropolitan Museum, 14.2.7. Shortly to be published in this journal.
- (3) *Intef*: . Stela bought in Luxor in 1895; now in Strassburg, No. 345. Published by Spiegelberg, *Grabsteine aus suddeutschen Sammlungen*, No. 18, and *Ä.Z.*, 1912, p. 119.

<sup>1</sup> With the Denderah sculpture published by Petrie, *Denderah*, and the Intef Cemetery stelae, compare the sarcophagus of Kault of the period of Mentuhotep II (Naville, *op. cit.*, I, Pl. XIX), and contrast the Mentuhotep III sculptures (*ibid.*).





A. After a photograph taken in 1914




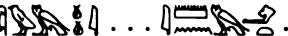
B. After Prisse d'Avenues, *L'Art égyptien*, I, Pl. 46

FIG. 2.—Saite Pyramid in the Assafif which has sometimes been supposed to be a tomb of the Eleventh Dynasty



*Reign of Intef I*

- \* (4) *Horus Wah-ankh Intef-o I*: . Originally found by Mariette in 1860, later refound by Maspero in 1882 and by Daressy in 1888 at the point marked "Intef I, stela," on the map, Fig. 1 (see above, p. 12); now in Cairo. Published by Mariette, *Mon. div.*, Pl. 49; Lange and Schäfer, *ibid.*, 20512, and *B.A.R.*, I, § 421.
- \* (5) *Zari*: . Two stelae—one with offering and one with biographical inscription; found by Petrie in his Cemetery "A"; now in Cairo; published by Petrie, *Qurneh*, p. 3, p. 16 (Walker), and Pls. II and III.
- \* (6) . . . . . Found by natives in the Intef Cemetery; now in the Metropolitan Museum, 13.182.3. Shortly to be published in this journal.

*Reign of Intef II*

- \* (7) *Thethi*: . Stela, tomb door-jambs and lintel found by natives in the Intef Cemetery;<sup>1</sup> now in British Museum, No. 100. Published in *B.M. Hieroglyphic Texts*, I, Pls. XLIX-LII; *Guide to the Egyptian Collections*, Pl. IV, and *B.A.R.*, I, § 423.
- \* (8) *Amenemhat*: . Found by natives in the Intef Cemetery; now in the Metropolitan Museum, 14.2.6. Shortly to be published in this journal.

*Reign of Mentuhotep I*


- (9) *Kawer Intef*: . Bought in Luxor and said to be from Kurneh (*B.M. Guide, Sculpture*, p. 39); now in British Museum, No. 99. Published in *B.M. Hieroglyphic Texts*, I, 53.
- \* (10) *Henun*: . Found by natives in the Intef Cemetery (called Dra' Abu'l Naga); now in Cairo, Livre d'entrée 34346. Published by Gauthier, *Bull. Inst. franç.*, V, 39, and Sethe, *Ä.Z.*, 1905, p. 132.

<sup>1</sup> Pier, who copied the stela in Luxor, was told it came from Dra' Abu'l Naga (*Am. Jour. Sem. Lang.*, XXI, 159), and I have recently heard very circumstantial statements, by those who seemed to recall its discovery, that it came from the Intef Cemetery. In *B.M. Guide, Sculpture*, p. 30, Kurneh is given as the finding-place, but *Hieroglyphic Texts*, I, p. 16, gives "Karnak," which is highly improbable.

*Reign of Mentuhotep II*

- \*(11) . . . . . Found by Daressy in the Intef Cemetery; now in Cairo. Published by Daressy, *Annales*, VIII, 242.

*Reign of Mentuhotep III*

- \*(12) *Intef-nekht*: . Found by Daressy in the Intef Cemetery; now in Cairo. Published by Daressy, *Annales*, VIII, 244.

*Not dated by a king's name*

- \*(13) . . . . . Probably of the reign of Intef II; fragments of stelae which I procured in tomb "C" of Fig. 4.


- (14) *Intef son of Maït*: .

A. Stela with biographical inscription; known to have come from the left bank at Thebes about 1895, probably from Intef Cemetery (Steindorff, *Ä.Z.*, 1895, p. 81); now in Berlin. Published by Daressy, *Annales*, IX, 150; Lange, *Ä.Z.*, 1896, p. 33.

B. Found with the last (?); now in Copenhagen. Published by Lange, *Ä.Z.*, 1896, p. 25.

C. Stela with offering inscription,<sup>1</sup> belonging with the above (?); from Qurneh (*B.M. Guide, Sculpture*, p. 38); now in British Museum, No. 134. Published in *B.M. Hieroglyphic Texts*, I, Pl. LV.

- \*(15) . . . . . Fragments of two stelae found by Petrie in his Cemetery B. Published by Walker in Petrie, *Qurneh*, p. 17, Pl. X.

- \*(16) *Menthu-nekht*: . From the Intef Cemetery; now in Cairo. Published by Daressy, *Annales*, VIII, 246.

- \*(17) . . . . . From the Intef Cemetery; now in Cairo. Published by Daressy, *Annales*, VIII, 245.

Undoubtedly this list is far from exhaustive, especially for stelae not definitely dated. Thus, to take but a few examples, in Cairo there are several stelae which by style and reputed provenance are

<sup>1</sup> Compare the two stelae of Zari, No. 3 above—one with biographical and one with offering inscription.

in all probability from the Intef Cemetery (notably Nos. 20002-3-4-5-7, 20011, 20476, and 20505); and in Florence there are stelae said to have been procured from Dra' Abu'l Naga (Nos. 1767, 1770, 1773-74) as well as a number of early Middle Kingdom statuette bases from the same locality (Nos. 1710-17). Of complete, but uninscribed, statuettes there are two in the collection of the late Theodore M. Davis said to have been found with Stelae Nos. 2 and 8 above, and in the British Museum two statues of Mera, from Kurneh which, following the date assigned to them, could possibly have come from this vicinity.<sup>1</sup>

In the Eleventh Dynasty the town of Thebes centered around Karnak, and the site adopted for its necropolis was the nearest stretch of desert in the vicinity. This happened to be across the river on the west bank, only 2,500 meters away, in a low gravel plain extending out north and east from the mouth of the Valley of the Kings, and here grew up a cemetery covering some 1,200 meters along the edge of the desert, and 500 to 600 meters back into it. The burials were made both in oblong pits and in rock-cut tombs. As there was no cliff at this point, the latter were made by quarrying out of the hardened gravel beds of the plain sunken forecourts some 3 or 4 meters deep, the almost vertical backs of which were the tomb façades. Access to the main chambers from the forecourt was commonly through a row of rectangular openings in the façade, which thus had the effect of being a portico, and as secondary chambers were often cut from the sides of the courts their entrances often gave the latter the appearance of being surrounded by porticoes on three sides.<sup>2</sup>

Among the hundred or more tombs of this type there are several of very large size and three gigantic ones which go by the name of *šaff* among the natives and which are prominent features of the

<sup>1</sup> Hall and King, *Egypt and Western Asia*, p. 320, where they are dated as of the Ninth Dynasty. We have no definitely dated Theban sculpture as early as this for comparison, and must turn to Denderah, where the sculpture of the whole Sixth to Eleventh Dynasty period is seen to be of an entirely different aspect. Lord Carnarvon found the bust of a very similar statue in a Mentuhotep II-III tomb overlooking the Deir el Bahri causeway, and this, I am inclined to think, is the date of the Mera statues and possibly also their finding-place. See Carnarvon and Carter, *Five Years' Exploration*, Pl. XVIII.

<sup>2</sup> Descriptions and plans of some examples are given by Petrie in *Qurneh*. Others lie open on the site or partially occupied by modern native houses.

Wilkinson, Lepsius, and Schweinfurth maps.<sup>1</sup> In spite of their enormous size and the fact that they were made to accommodate a great number of independent burials, these three largest tombs are essentially similar to the other rock-cut tombs of the site. They have the same sunken courts surrounded on three sides by the portico-like entrances of chambers, but in these three instances the courts are from 60 to 70 meters wide and from 5 to 7 meters deep, with enormous mounds of gravel from their cutting piled high on either side, and in length they have grown from the smaller, and proportionately short, courts to something more like avenues of approach leading to the tombs at their ends.<sup>2</sup> Regarded as avenues it is only natural to find that all three face south of east in the general direction from which they would have been approached in coming from the town of Thebes, while many of the smaller tombs are often oriented toward these three large ones, rather than to the points of the compass or the direction of the river. On the map (Fig. 1) the axes of two of these large tombs may be compared with the arrow pointing toward the heart of Eleventh Dynasty Thebes, which must have been between the Montu Temple and the Middle Kingdom Amon Temple at Karnak.

It is natural to take these three gigantic tombs for those of the three great rulers of the middle period of the Eleventh Dynasty, a hypothesis which is confirmed by the fact that the stela of Intef I was discovered in the *ṣaff* to which I have given his name. The finding spot of the stela is most exactly described by Daressy<sup>3</sup> and has been pointed out to me by some of the older peasants who seemed to remember distinctly its recovery from a now abandoned *sakḳieh* pit. Very little can be gained today from a superficial examination of the site and without a thorough excavation an intelligent restoration presents evident difficulties.

In the description of the tomb of Intef I in the Abbot Papyrus the two definite facts are that there was a pyramid and a stela, but the

<sup>1</sup> On the last map, one of them is called "Ssaft-el-diaba" and another "Ssaft-el-leben." The term *ṣaff* (صَفْ plural صُفُوف), a "row," is descriptive of the "rows" of tomb entrances around the courts and the "rows" of modern houses built in them.

<sup>2</sup> The western *ṣaff* is about 250 meters long; the modern Fadliyah Canal cuts across the other two in such a way that their lengths cannot be determined.

<sup>3</sup> *Annales*, XII, 65, n. 1. See *x* marked "stela" in the map, Fig. 1, above.

exact arrangement of the two appears to be left in some obscurity. One has little better fortune with the description of the tomb in his day given by Mariette in a letter to Birch:<sup>1</sup>

La tombe où la Stèle a été trouvée existe encore à Drah-abou'l-neggah. Elle est située plus près du Nil que de la montagne et juste à la lisière des terres cultivées. Elle consiste en une pyramide de briques crues qui n'a pas dû avoir plus d'une quinzaine de mètres de base. Au centre et dans le massif de cette pyramide est une chambre dont le fond était occupé par le Stèle en question. Cette chambre avait une porte parfaitement visible du dehors, et dans l'antiquité on la visitait par conséquent quand on voulait.



FIG. 3.—The tomb of Intef I. From the modern canal bank, looking up the axis of the sunken court. The finding-place of the Intef I Stela in 1882 was near the right foreground; on either side are seen the Arab houses in the entrances of tombs, and beyond, below the square house, mounds of ancient brick in front of the principal tomb façade.

Mais ce qui était caché, c'est la chambre mortuaire proprement dite. La pyramide étant construite sur le roc, c'est dans le roc qu'a été creusée la tombe et que se trouve la chambre où repose la momie. Je ne l'ai pas trouvée. La pyramide, en effet, n'est pas orientée. D'un autre côté l'entrée du couloir qui conduit à la chambre peut se rencontrer au sud, au nord, à l'est, à l'ouest, et même assez loin du monument. Il faut dire aussi que ce qui reste de la pyramide se trouve enclavé dans une propriété particulière. Je n'ai donc pu faire sur la pyramide que des tentatives d'autant moins sérieuses que je n'avais aucune règle pour me guider, ni aucun précédent à suivre.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, IV, 193. The tomb was already in a ruined condition when visited by the Ramesside inspectors 3,000 years ago (Pap. Abbot, II, 1. 9).

<sup>2</sup> Additional details are given in Mariette's "Lettre à De Rougé," *Revue Arch.* (1860), II, 29: "... la porte donnait accès dans une couloir qui lui-même conduisait à une chambre dans laquelle la momie a été déposée" (a view he changed when he wrote to



Today there remain in the back part of the *šaff* court some mounds of decayed mud brick (behind the well in the center of Fig. 3) which seem to occupy the position of the pyramid, so far as can be judged. Now, returning to our conception of the *šaff* as an enormously enlarged portico tomb, the entrance to the burial chambers should be in the center of the back façade of the court, in this case behind the pyramid and not beneath it, where Mariette so vainly searched. This brings us into a close parallel with types of tombs employed two or three generations later at Thebes—the royal tomb situated behind the pyramid at Deir el Bahri and the private tombs in the cemetery surrounding the latter, with small pyramid-roofed chapels at the bottom of the approaches, below and in front of the tomb doors. Following this line of reasoning we must suppose the pyramid of Intef I to have been one of very acute angle mounted on a rectangular base in which was the chamber door described by Mariette.<sup>1</sup> As the tomb entrances at the back of the court were those of the royal tomb, the entrances at the sides, either singly or in groups of two or more, were those of the tombs of such nobles or courtiers as were buried in immediate proximity to the king and did not have separate tombs outside. This much is fairly certain from the recovery of the fragments of Stela No. 13 above, in the tomb marked C in the adjoining *šaff* (Fig. 4).

The westernmost *šaff* gives us no help in restoring the tomb type. It seems indeed to be unfinished, but there is a very suggestive feature in the easternmost, marked Intef II in Fig. 1. At the center of the back of the court there is a projecting façade with a very noticeable batter and a row of tomb entrances descending into it on an angle (A-B in Fig. 4), contrasting with the walls on either side which rise almost vertically and are pierced with horizontal openings. Occupying the position it does in the center of the main façade, this must mark the position of the royal tomb, in appearance strongly reminiscent of the brick façade of the tomb of Dagi.<sup>2</sup> There is a possibility,

Birch); and in Maspero's text to *Monuments divers*, p. 15: "Une porte s'ouvrait en face de la stèle et donnait accès à cette chapelle: les traces d'un crépi blanc sans peintures ni inscription d'aucune sorte étaient encore visibles sur les murailles."

<sup>1</sup> Compare the tombs in the familiar scenes of the Hathor cow descending from the Deir el Bahri cliff. The pyramids, commonly shown at the base of the cliffs as a characteristic of the locality, were very likely those of the great M.K. tombs in these cliffs.

<sup>2</sup> Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, Pl. XXIX.

which I advance with caution, that this projecting façade was the front of the platform on which stood the pyramid of Intef II and was thus the prototype of the platform on which stands the pyramid at Deir el Bahri.

With the tomb of Intef I established by the discovery of his stela, I should assign the adjoining *ṣaff* to his son Intef II, for I have reason to believe, but no definite proof, that Stela No. 8 came from the tomb C of Fig. 4. This would leave the largest *ṣaff*, the unfinished one to the southwest, for the third king of the middle period,



FIG. 4.—The tomb of Intef II. From the modern canal bank looking into the sunken court. Entrances to tombs, some occupied by modern houses, can be seen around three sides; A-B is the projecting façade of the main tomb; C is the entrance to the tomb in which were found the stela No. 13 and possibly Stela No. 8.

Mentuhotep I, and would fit in excellently with Petrie's theory that the earliest private tombs occupied the north and eastern parts of the cemetery and the latest those south and west.<sup>1</sup> The tombs of the nomarchs of the first period should be looked for, then, somewhere north of the tombs of Intef I and II.

How late the southern end of the cemetery continued to be used is shown by the fact that some members of the richer classes were buried there in the reign of Mentuhotep III when the kings and most of the nobles were making their tombs at Deir el Bahri. Moreover it is practically certain that the poorer classes were still buried in this

<sup>1</sup> See Petrie, *Querns*, pp. 2 ff. The only documentary dating he had was from the Eleventh Dynasty, but on archaeological grounds he believed some of the earliest burials in Cemetery "A" went back to the Eighth Dynasty and the latest in "B" down to the Twelfth Dynasty.

part of the cemetery well into the Middle Kingdom, for there is no trace of them in the later Eleventh Dynasty cemeteries, and here, in his "Cemetery B," Petrie found pits as late as the Twelfth Dynasty. From the southern end of the Intef Cemetery these later burials spread to the other side of the mouth of the Valley of the Kings as far south as the site of the later Nebunnef Chapel, and here and there across the plain to the foot of Dra' Abu'l Naga.


#### THE MENTUHOTEP II AND III CEMETERY

We are much better off as regards published material for the next period of the Eleventh Dynasty Necropolis than we were for the beginning, or will be for the end. Some of the Middle Kingdom tombs overlooking the Assâsîf were opened by Lepsius; Maspero dug in the tombs of Dagi and Horhotep, and recently others have been cleared by Lord Carnarvon on the one side of the valley, and by the Metropolitan Museum on the other. Of the Mentuhotep Temple an important part, the Bab el Hosan, was discovered by Carter. Later the temple proper was found and cleared for the Egypt Exploration Fund by Naville and his collaborators who, however, fell into an error on the order of Mentuhotep II and Mentuhotep III and who did not grasp the fact that the so-called "kasanctuary" behind the temple was in reality the tomb of the second of them. Borchardt afterward corrected these two points and finally, in the winter of 1912-13, the causeway was found and the clearing of it started by the Metropolitan Museum.<sup>1</sup>

With the change in the fortunes of the Theban dynasty, from that of petty kings in Upper Egypt only, to rulers of the whole country, there came a change in the location and character of the necropolis. Mentuhotep II's ambitions were aroused to surpass the monuments of his predecessors, and he saw in the Assâsîf-Deir el Baḥrî valley a chance to employ the natural features of the landscape to reproduce the *ṣaff* on a gigantic scale. A point at the base of the cliffs was chosen for the pyramid and tomb to which it was possible to construct, with the least cutting and filling, an avenue about 80 meters wide, leading from the direction in which one would

<sup>1</sup> For the Bab el Hosan see Carter in *Annales*, II, 201; for the temple see Naville, etc., *XIth Dyn. Temple at Deir el Baḥari*, and Borchardt, "Die Totentempel der Pyramiden," in *Zeit. für Gesch. der Architektur*, III, 82. For the short preliminary account of the finding of the causeway see the *Bulletin of the Met. Mus. of Art*, N. Y., IX, 12.

approach from the town at Karnak.<sup>1</sup> As yet it cannot be said whether this avenue started from a valley temple, but enough has already been found to show that it ascended from the cultivation between rows of tamarisk trees and of Osiride statues of the king, and boundary walls of limestone.<sup>2</sup> It was an open avenue rather than a roofed-in passage causeway of the Old Kingdom type, because the models on which it was planned were the elongated open courts of the *šaffs*. The avenue ended at a large court, on the farther side of which stood a pyramid upon a raised platform that projected into the court, and which was fronted with a colonnade, at least by the reign of Mentuhotep III if not from the beginning. The members of the *harm* of Mentuhotep II were buried under small mastabas, like shrines, on top of the platform behind the pyramid. Whatever else may have been in the original plan of Mentuhotep II was lost in the changes and enlargements made by Mentuhotep III when he constructed his tomb in the same monument. So extensive were these alterations that the name of Mentuhotep II was left on practically nothing but the shrines, and as time went on the name of his successor became the only one associated with the temple. On the top of the platform, around the pyramid, Mentuhotep III built a hall of columns, one wall of which was constructed right over the backs of the shrine-like tombs of the princesses. Behind the pyramid the platform was cut back into the cliff to make room for a peristyle court in which was the entrance to his tomb, and behind this again, a hypostyle hall in which was placed the altar for his cultus.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There is no reason to suppose that there was any necropolis at this spot before the foundation of the temple, with which the name  must, therefore, have originated. See Hall in the *XIth Dyn. Temple*, I, pp. 10-11, and Naville, *ibid.*, III, p. 1. If the orientation of the avenue to the general direction of Karnak had not been thought necessary, a better line for it would have been from its actual starting-point near the cultivation to the site of the Hatshepsut Temple. By choosing this last point for the pyramid an economy in cutting and filling on the avenue could have been effected, but the line of the latter would not have approached so closely the direction of the town (see map, Fig. 1). The position of the pyramid and avenue was a compromise which had a curious effect on the axes throughout the entire structure. The axis of the avenue lies north of that of the court; the axis of the court lies north of that of the platform; and the axis of the platform lies north of that of the pyramid and the temple.

<sup>2</sup> This was the plan as finished—probably by Mentuhotep III—but some such general scheme must have been in view from the beginning.

<sup>3</sup> Borchardt's statement (*op. cit.*, p. 83), that the "Totentempel liegt nicht vor, sondern um die Pyramide herum," does not exactly describe the case if there were two builders, as he believes. Mentuhotep III's temple really lies behind the pyramid, and where Mentuhotep II's temple may have been we cannot say. At least it did not include the hall of columns around the pyramid, for that is of the later reign.

The difficulty in understanding the Deir el Bahri Temple lies in the question of its plan and the location of its burial place in the Mentuhotep II period, the existence of which is demonstrated by the shrines. The logical place to expect the original tomb is behind the pyramid, if we follow the apparent precedent of the Intef I reconstruction above, but the tomb behind the pyramid seems to have belonged to the second building period. If we follow the possible precedent supplied by the Intef II tomb, with the pyramid on a platform at the back of the court, the burial chamber should then be entered from the court in front of the pyramid. A seeming justification for this view is supplied by the Bab el Hosan, which is the tomb of a King Mentuhotep,<sup>1</sup> with its opening in the court on a line with the axis of the avenue, and its passage leading in such a direction as to bring the burial chamber approximately under the pyramid. Borchardt has suggested that this is in fact the tomb of Mentuhotep II, but on the other hand it must be remembered that the tomb, although unplundered when found by Carter, contained no body, but only an empty coffin and a statue, wrapped in linen, of the king wearing the Sed Jubilee costume and the crown of the North. The question arises, therefore, as to whether this was an actual burial place arranged by Mentuhotep II for the reception of his body, which from unforeseen circumstances was buried elsewhere, or whether it was a tomb connected with the Sed Jubilee which his successor presumably celebrated in his thirtieth year.<sup>2</sup>

Whatever may have been the history of the Deir el Bahri Temple, there can be no doubt in my mind that the prototypes from which it was derived should be looked for in the *saffs* and not in the Old Kingdom pyramid temples. Throughout the Eleventh Dynasty the Thebans clung to and developed local traditions, little influenced by the Memphite architecture which was probably still unfamiliar to them.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Attempts to read any pronomens of the Mentuhotep whose name occurs on the furniture in the grave have proved unsuccessful. See Naville, *A.Z.*, 1910, pp. 82 ff.

<sup>2</sup> This suggestion has been made frequently, among others by Maspero, *Guide*, 1908, p. 99, and Petrie, *Qurneh*, p. 6, where a possible jubilee cenotaph of S-ankh-ka-re is described.

<sup>3</sup> Almost all of the nine points of difference which Borchardt notes between the Mentuhotep Temple and the Memphite ones can be explained by reference to the Intef Cemetery. Other evidence that Upper Egypt was a more or less independent cultural area during the period between the Sixth and Twelfth dynasties is supplied by the

If we look on the Deir el Bahri Temple as a tremendously enlarged *šaff*, we can see another point of resemblance in the surrounding cemetery. Instead of the private tombs being clustered around the pyramid as at Gizeh, Abusir, or Lisht, they extend in two long rows on either side of the causeway like the tombs at the sides of the *šaff* courts. Within, and close around the temple, were the tombs of the women of the royal house.<sup>1</sup> Those cut high up on the slopes just under the cliffs facing the causeway were the tombs of the great nobles. Some of them had little chapels at the foot of the slope,<sup>2</sup> and all of them had broad approaches like that of the temple itself, bounded by brick or stone walls, leading up to the entrance. Inside, a long, wide, and lofty corridor<sup>3</sup> ran to a square room from which descended the passage to the burial chamber. Some forty of these big corridor tombs which stand open today can be assigned to the cemetery of the Mentuhotep II-III Temple. On the north side of the causeway, starting at Deir el Bahri, there are thirteen in a row extending along the cliff to those of Meru and Horhotep (see Fig. 5). Beyond, in less regular order, are scattered those excavated by Lord Carnarvon and Mr. Carter, and below these, the tombs of the Intef and the somewhat later Mentuhotep of the Berlin Museum.<sup>4</sup> On

coffins (see Mace and Winlock, *The Tomb of Senebtisi* [in press], p. 50). Even under Amenemhat I some trace of Theban influence persisted in his pyramid which was built upon a platform above the court in which his temple stood, but under Sesostri I the Memphite plan was readopted in its entirety (see *Bull. Met. Mus. of Art*, X, 2, suppl., Fig. 3).

<sup>1</sup> For burials inside the inclosure see *XIth Dyn. Temple*, I, p. 43. The tomb of a Queen Tmum in this vicinity is noted by Maspero, *A.Z.*, 1883, p. 77, and *Trois Années de Fouilles*, p. 134, and by Naville, *XIth Dyn. Temple*, II, p. 3. Just outside, under the Hatshepsut Temple, are the tombs of Queen Neferu, discovered by Ebers in 1873 (see Maspero, *Rec. Trav.*, III, 201, and Naville, *A.Z.*, 1912, p. 14); and of Amenet, priestess of Hathor (see Daressy, *Rec. Trav.*, XIV, 186, and *Annales*, I, 141, and Lacau, *Sarcophages*, 28025). Naville takes the Queen Neferu as the mother of the much earlier Intef I. Aside from the question of date, the phrase , following the name of Intef I in several cases, is an epithet applied to Intef II also on Stela No. 7, and is therefore probably not the name of the mother in either case.

<sup>2</sup> One such has been found by Lord Carnarvon and Mr. Carter.

<sup>3</sup> This corridor is the distinctive characteristic of the M.K. tombs at Thebes. Typical Empire tombs have a chamber just inside the entrance.

<sup>4</sup> For Meru see Gardiner and Weigall, *Topographical Catalogue*, No. 240, and *L.D.*, II, 148cd, Text III, p. 241. The stela of a Meru of the reign of Mentuhotep III is in Turin, No. 1447. For Horhotep see Maspero, *Trois Années de Fouilles*, p. 134, and *Guide*. Carnarvon's tombs are described in *Five Years' Explorations in Thebes*, pp. 22 ff. The positions of the tombs of the Intef found by Lepsius and the Mentuhotep found by Passalacqua are mentioned in *L.D.*, III, 242. The latter is described in Passalacqua, *Catalogue des antiquités*, pp. 117 and 144.

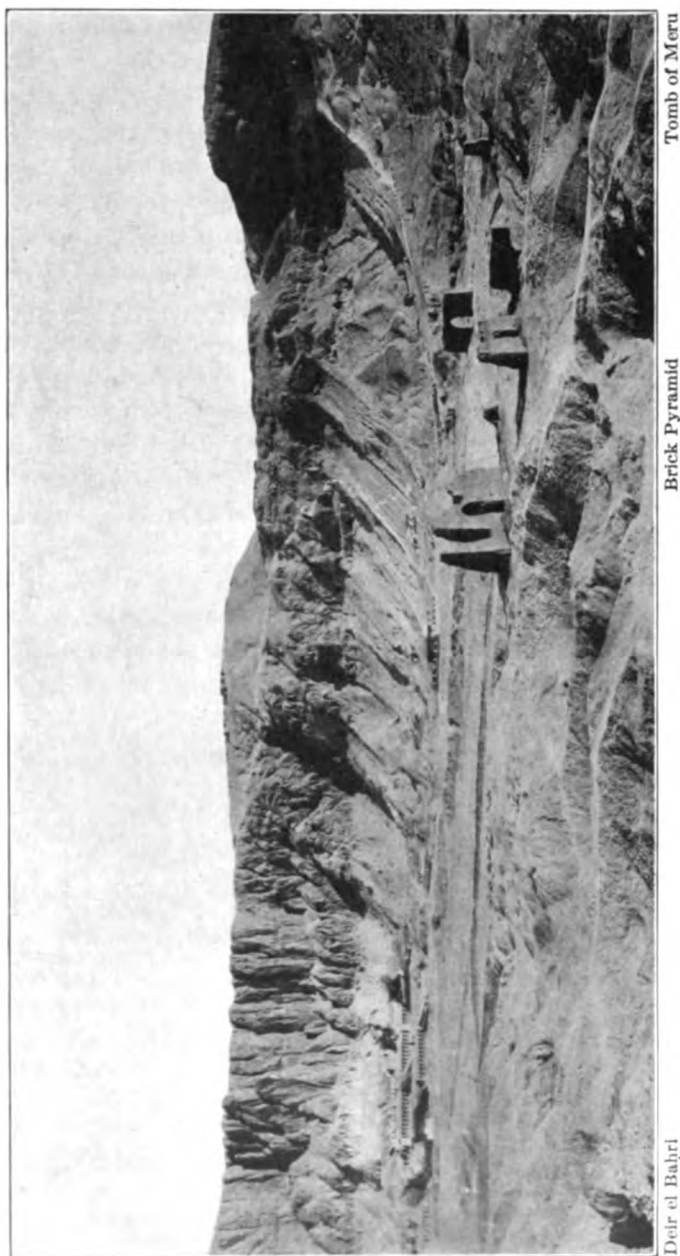


FIG. 5.—Eleventh Dynasty tombs in the Deir el Bahri Cliff. In the right foreground are the pylons of Saite tombs, among which can be seen the small brick pyramid of Fig. 2. In the cliff above are the entrances to Eleventh Dynasty tombs with the walls of their approaches extending in diagonal lines down the talus slope.

the opposite side of the causeway, the tombs run from the western extremity of Sheikh Abd el Kurneh, along the crest of the hill to those of Dagi and Sebeknekht;<sup>1</sup> below these last there are two others on the level of the modern tourist road, and then the line continues along the north side of the foothill on which Mond's house stands, to the Khôkheh. The largest tombs, at the upper end of the causeway, overlooking the temple in the most desirable positions, belonged to the great nobles of the reigns of Mentuhotep II and III. The more easterly, smaller, and less well-situated tombs were those of the lesser people, or, like the Mentuhotep of Berlin, date from the slightly later period, about the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty.

#### THE MENTUHOTEP IV AND V CEMETERY

So far we have been able to depend to a certain extent upon published excavations in tracing the location and character of the Eleventh Dynasty cemeteries, but I do not know of any description of tomb material from the Theban Necropolis, dated on documentary evidence to the last two reigns of the dynasty.

It is known that as early as his second year, Neb-taui-re Mentuhotep IV sent an expedition of 10,000 men out to the Wadi Hammamat to quarry stone for his sarcophagus,<sup>2</sup> and it is reasonable to suppose that he intended, at least, to construct a tomb for himself comparable to those of his predecessors, and that, even if he did not live to complete it, his successor S-ankh-ka-re Mentuhotep V would either have continued it, or would have started a new mausoleum for himself. I see no reason why we should suppose that these two kings were not buried in Thebes,<sup>3</sup> and therefore we ought to find traces of their tombs somewhere in this Necropolis. The Nebhepet-re Temple at Deir el Bahri, its causeway, and the surrounding cemetery would have been the models followed, and something like them should be looked for.

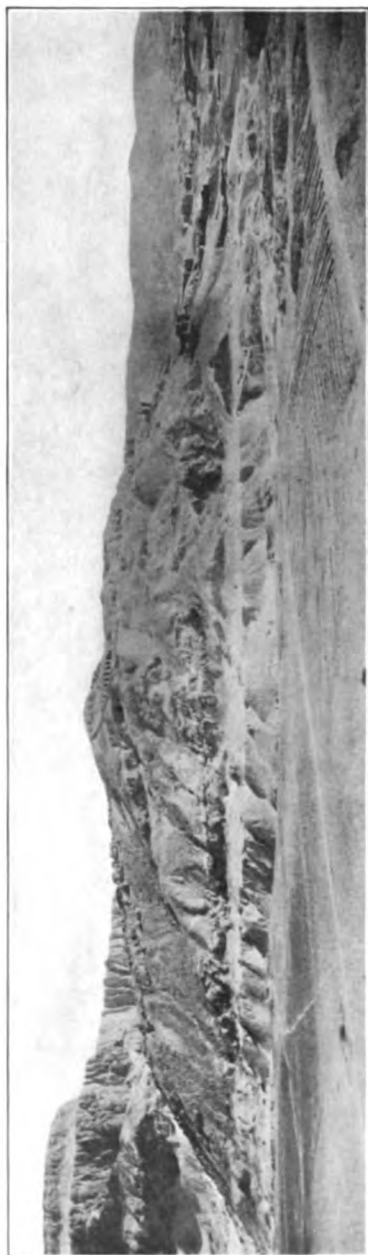
I believe that the remains of such a structure can be recognized just south of Sheikh Abd el Kurneh among the Middle Kingdom

<sup>1</sup> Both recently cleared by the Metropolitan Museum. The tomb of Dagi (Gardiner and Weigall, No. 103) is described by Davies in *Five Theban Tombs* (Arch. Survey, XXI), pp. 28 ff. Of this series of tombs, that of Dagi alone has a portico façade, but it must not be supposed that this is an innovation suggested by the temple of Deir el Bahri, but rather as a continuation of the Intef Cemetery type of tomb.

<sup>2</sup> *B.A.R.*, I, §§ 451, 453.

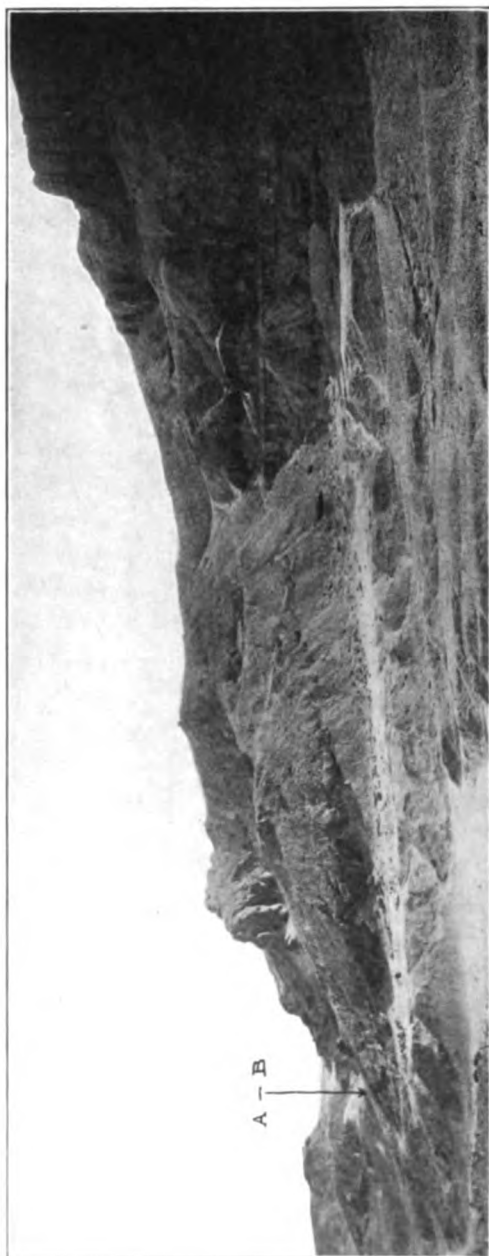
<sup>3</sup> As suggested by Naville, *J.Z.*, 1910, p. 88.





Large portico tomb

FIG. 6.—Terrace along southwest side of Shelkh Abd el Kurneh hill. View taken from near the German House. The terrace can be seen as a white zone near the base of the hill, outlined below by the rounded chip heaps that are so strongly contrasted with the rugged natural formations above. FIG. 9 was taken from the extreme left of the picture.



Sloping causeway

Level platform

FIG. 7.—Upper Terrace behind Shelkh Abd el Kurneh. The scale can be judged from the horseman—a mere speck in the shadow below the cliff on the right. A-B is the rock-cutting shown in detail in FIG. 9.

tombs which line both sides of the wadi that descends to the Ramesseum. Any one passing the German House in the direction of Deir el Medīneh may have noticed a terrace about 7 or 8 meters high, and in places as much as 50 meters wide, cut along the entire southwest side of Sheikh Abd el Kurneh (see Fig. 6). If prolonged to the southeast, the line of the terrace should meet the cultivation edge near the south side of the Ramesseum, but on the lower ground behind the latter all trace of it is now lost. On the west side of Sheikh Abd el Kurneh (at C on the map, Fig. 1) the terrace is abruptly cut across by the water-course which descends from the north, but beyond it is continued by a similar terrace on the north side of a spur of the mountain. Both terraces ascend at a uniform slope of 1 in 25 to a point where the upper one ends in a level platform at the base of the cliff (see Fig. 7).<sup>1</sup> They are not the results of natural erosion for even a superficial examination shows that they are artificial benches cut into the limestone of the hillsides and broadened with the chip quarried out. The artificial character of the whole formation is plainly evident in the even stratified layers of this chip, lying as they do at the angle of rest of dumped material (see Fig. 8). In the cutting and grading of these two terraces from 70 to 80 thousand cubic meters of limestone were moved, but even with the expenditure of this enormous effort the undertaking was never finished. On the Sheikh Abd el Kurneh terrace there remain isolated knobs of still unquarried rock; the cut sides of the terraces were never brought into absolutely regular line, and the water-course does not seem to have been filled across. That it was intended to fill the dry wadi—for I do not believe it would have occurred to them to construct a culvert—and bring the two terraces into alignment is shown by the rock-cutting in Fig. 9. The photograph was taken from the northwest end of the Sheikh Abd el Kurneh terrace looking across the water-course. The foreground to the right, "D," is entirely artificial. "A" and "C" are the two sides of the upper terrace (see the same letters on the map, Fig. 1, and in Fig. 7) and "A"—"B" is the cutting where they

<sup>1</sup> The terraces are the shaded areas on the map above, Fig. 1. They are best studied on Sheets 20 and 31 of Baraize, *Carte des Necropoles Thebaines*, by following the 96-106 and 112-116 meter contour lines. Sheet 19, which will show the top platform, is not yet published.

had begun to remove the spur of the mountain in order to bring the inner side of this upper terrace in line with the outer side of the lower terrace, and to provide material for filling the water-course. The

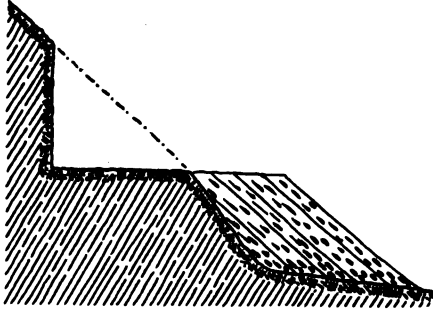


FIG. 8.—Diagrammatic section of the Sheikh Abd el Kurneh Terrace, showing the rock-cutting on the left and the stratified chip heaps on the right.

whole locality remains just as the Eleventh Dynasty workmen left it, except for some slight erosion from infrequent rain storms, and in the photograph, Fig. 9, between A and B, one can see the little ridges of rock dividing the work of the ancient quarrymen one from another.

So far as can be judged from their present state, these terraces must have been intended as parts of a causeway about 1,200 meters long and 80 meters wide, leading up from the cultivation to the broad, level platform under the cliff. Comparison of these facts with Deir el Bahri immediately suggests that the platform was intended for an open court, a temple, pyramid, and royal tomb of the Neb-hepet-re type. The grading of the causeway having been left unfinished, there are naturally no structural traces of the avenue to be discovered, nor is it probable that any extensive remains of the pyramid and temple would be found on the platform for the same reason. At least there are no evidences of them on the surface, and in a small excavation conducted on this spot several years ago Mond found but one fragment of relief, but he did discover an Eleventh Dynasty tomb with six small pits in front of it, at the back of the platform, under the foot of the cliff.<sup>1</sup> The tomb consists of a sloping passage leading to a lined chamber with a gabled roof, and while it does not seem to have been actually a king's tomb, it must have been that of a personage of the high rank of those buried beside Mentuhotep III in his hypostyle hall. So much is in close conformity with the Neb-hepet-re type that I believe that the royal tomb, which would have been the first part of the structure finished,

<sup>1</sup> See Mond in *Annales*, VI, 77.

is very likely near by, buried under the débris fallen from the cliff, at the back of the platform.

To sum up, southwest of Sheikh Abd el Kurneh we appear to have the beginnings of another structure of the Mentuhotep Deir el Bahri type—a broad avenue leading up to the site of a mortuary

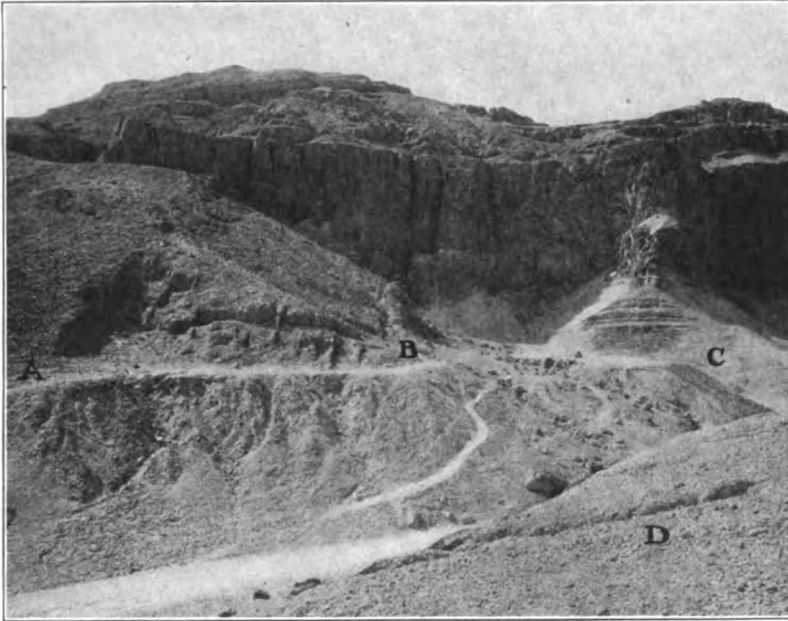


FIG. 9.—Rock-cutting on the Upper Terrace. Taken from the upper end of the Sheikh Abd el Kurneh terrace, of which D is part. A-B is the rock-cutting where the quarrymen were removing the spur of the hill, and B-C part of the already completed terrace. Between A and B can be seen the ridges of rock left by each workman between his cutting and his neighbor's.

temple where burial places of the Eleventh Dynasty have already been found. Further similarities are furnished by the surrounding cemetery in a remarkably clear manner, for from some as yet unexplained reason this section of the Theban necropolis was occupied only during the Eleventh Dynasty, the few tombs in it were never altered, and no later ones added, and the whole landscape, even to the original chip heaps of the early quarrymen, was left undisturbed and unchanged except by nature.

Corridor tombs of the Eleventh Dynasty type face down on the temple site and on the causeway just as they do at the Neb-hepet-re Temple. Starting high up on the northern spur which bounds the circus chosen for the temple platform, there are three large tombs.<sup>1</sup> Immediately opposite, on the westernmost point of Sheikh Abd el Kurneh, there begins a line of about a dozen others cut just under the crest of the hill all along its southwestern side as far as the present inclosure wall of the Service des Antiquités, and within the inclosure, directly below the highest point of the hill, there is a very large portico tomb facing east, parallel with the causeway.<sup>2</sup> This and another large tomb of similar plan across the causeway on the eastern side of Kurnet Murra'i<sup>3</sup> are very likely the tombs of Wazirs like Dagi. Near the Coptic monastery on top of Kurnet Murra'i and westward along the northern slope of the hill, there are unfinished courtyards, and in the low-lying hill north of Deir el Medīneh three tombs of the corridor type. Finally, high up on the spur of the mountain in which the upper terrace is cut, there are three tombs south of the temple platform, corresponding to the first three which we described on the north. All of these tombs conform to the types of the Mentuhotep II-III Cemetery. If, as seems to be the case, they present some modifications in plan, such can only be determined after a more detailed study of them than I have made. Even going through them hastily, though, one can see that the majority were never finished and that when work was abandoned on the temple and its causeway, it was stopped on the private tombs as well. Thus on the Kurnet Murra'i side only the forecourts were begun in some cases; the corridors of others on Sheikh Abd el Kurneh were cut in only a few meters and were then left so incomplete that they never

<sup>1</sup> Two were found by Daressy in 1895 and described in the *Annales*, II, 133. See Baraize, *Carte*, Sheet 9. See also the article by Mond, *Annales*, VI, 77, where an account is given of the clearing of a large "court" below Daressy's tombs. In reality this "court" is the lower end of the causeway belonging to the tombs above.

<sup>2</sup> This tomb is about the largest in Sheikh Abd el Kurneh, and is a landmark even from across the river, but being undecorated it is not numbered in Gardiner and Weigall. It is shown on their Pl. III, A-B 1; on Baraize, *Carte des Necropoles*, it is at the joining point of Sheets 20-21-31-32; and in Fig. 6 of this article it is seen at the top of the hill. There is a possibility that other tombs in the neighborhood may be Eleventh Dynasty—e.g., those marked "Salim Abou Senoun" and "Abdelrassoul Ahmed" on the Baraize map.

<sup>3</sup> Baraize, *Carte*, Sheet 53, Tomb 9, "Ahmet" and "Ali Chimi." His map shows the very characteristic M.K. plan of the subterranean parts.

could have been used as burial places, and the portico of the big tomb on the latter hill was only partially quarried out.

The fact that this temple and the surrounding cemetery were never finished is important for dating them. It must have commonly happened whenever a king died that many of his courtiers' tombs were still unfinished, but it is only natural to suppose that they would not have been abandoned, even if the owners took service with the new king, providing the latter kept the same capital and constructed his tomb in the neighborhood of that of his predecessor. Thus some of the nobles who began their tombs in the Intef Cemetery, probably in the reign of Mentuhotep I, retained them even after the royal cemetery was moved to Deir el Bahri by Mentuhotep II, and were buried in the old cemetery even as late as the reign of Mentuhotep III. Conditions here in the cemetery we have just been describing, however, are totally different, for we have signs of a wholesale abandonment of the unfinished private tombs on the death of the king. The dead king's successor, we must suppose therefore, was not buried at Thebes and the obvious conclusion is that the temple and tombs were in course of construction at the death of S-ankh-ka-re Mentuhotep V when Amenemhat I moved the capital to Lisht, started his pyramid there, and was followed by the majority of the Theban nobles.

This hypothesis leaves Neb-taui-re Mentuhotep IV alone, of all the Eleventh Dynasty kings, without a known tomb. To disregard the hypothesis and make him sole builder of the temple would leave no explanation of the abandonment of the cemetery, unless we supposed S-ankh-ka-re moved the capital before Amenemhat I. Of this we have no evidence. On the other hand there is no trace of any other late Eleventh Dynasty royal tomb in Thebes, so far as I can see, except that of Deir el Bahri and this one of Sheikh Abd el Kurneh,<sup>1</sup> and as there is nothing to make us suppose that Neb-taui-re

<sup>1</sup> The only piece of work at Thebes I know of, comparable to the *gaffs* and the two causeways, is the rock-cutting between Kurnet Murra'i and the cultivation, but its shape does not suggest the Eleventh Dynasty royal tombs. From northeast to southwest it is certainly more than 300 meters long, and may be as much as 450 meters if, as I believe, it can be traced to Baralze's Triangulation Point 71 (see his Sheets 53-54-61). At the north end it is at least 90 meters wide. The material excavated from it has been dumped behind it on the northeast end of Kurnet Murra'i, where it forms the long artificial tongue of gravel on which the German House is built. At present we can only say that the cutting is earlier than the Nineteenth Dynasty when the temples of Merenptah and Tausert were built in it (Petrie, *Six Temples*, p. 13, noted it was earlier than Tausert).

was buried in the former, it is likely that he was buried in the latter. He probably had already begun work on this temple at the time of his Hammamat expedition when he sent for granite for his sarcophagus, and, as he probably died soon after, his successor S-ankh-ke-re Mentuhotep V, following the precedent of Mentuhotep III who continued building the temple of Mentuhotep II, carried the work on until his death when, still unfinished, it was abandoned.

#### TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH DYNASTY CEMETERY

The history of the Necropolis after the removal of the capital to Lisht and the establishment of the royal cemeteries in Middle Egypt is briefly told. Thebes remained the principal town of Upper Egypt and the wealth of the local notables who remained there must have been assured as long as the aggrandizement of the temples of Amon was an object of royal solicitude. If anything, the private tombs increased in size. At least one at the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty—Number 60, that of Intef Aker—was cut high up in the eastern face of Sheikh Abd el Kurneh. Another burial of about the same date, the Mentuhotep of Berlin, was found toward the lower end of the Neb-hepet-re avenue, and from this time on, through the Twelfth and Thirteenth dynasties, while the Neb-hepet-re Temple was under the patronage of the reigning kings, the heart of the Necropolis was at the foot of the causeway, spreading northward along the plain.<sup>1</sup> Here there were no hillside tombs as in the two Mentuhotep cemeteries. Although the subterranean parts of the tombs were of the corridor types of the latter part of the Eleventh Dynasty, the cemetery as a whole seems to have reverted to the general appearance of the Intef Cemetery. The principal tombs had enormous forecourts and portico façades sunk in the plain, and

<sup>1</sup> One portico tomb of this cemetery has been found on the south side of the causeway (see *Bull. Met. Mus.*, IX, 16 ff.) and a few smaller tombs of the period were scattered along the first terrace of the desert plain as far south as the sites later occupied by the Thotmes III Temple and the Ramesseum (see Weigall in *Annales*, VII, 127, and plan VIII, 256, and Quibell, *The Ramesseum*, pp. 3-5). The majority have been found by Lord Carnarvon and Mr. Carter on the north side, from the site of the Hatshepsut valley temple to the "Mandara"—the area covered by the words "XII-XIII Dyn. Cemetery" on Fig. 1 (see *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes*, pp. 50-51-54-64, etc.). Since the publication of their book they have found a number of important new tombs. The finding-places of the early M.K. coffin of Sebek-o in Berlin (see Steindorff, *Grabfunde*), and the Cairo coffins 28028, -29, and -30, are unknown. Daressy tells me that the dealer from whom these last were bought said they came from Deir el Bahri, but Lacau in the *Sarcophages* sees reason to believe there may be some mistake and that they may not have come from Thebes at all.

the secondary burials and those of the poorer classes were in oblong pits oriented nearly north and south, scattered along the plain at the base of Dra' Abu'l Naga northward until they mingled with those of the Intef Cemetery itself.

#### A NOTE ON THE ABBOT PAPYRUS

The order in which the royal tombs appear in the report of the inspectors probably represents the order in which they were visited. The most important tomb, and also the most difficult of access, that of Amenhotep I up on the Dra' Abu'l Naga hill, was examined first and having been found intact it was entered in the report with its position stated as "north of the House of Amenhotep (L.P.H.) of the Garden."<sup>1</sup> The party then descended the hill, crossed the mouth of the Valley of the Kings and the plain in an easterly direction, and examined the tomb of Intef I, the position of which was entered by the scribe as "north of the House of Amenhotep (L.P.H.) of the Court." Here another temple must be intended surely, for the tomb of Intef I was nearer east than north from the temple of Amenhotep I and there is no reason to suppose the same temple would appear under two names in the same document, or that "north," used so exactly once, would be used so inaccurately the second time. The "Temple of Amenhotep of the Court," therefore, must have been in the cultivation on some road leading from the river to the Necropolis. The tomb of Intef I having been inspected, the party turned west, recrossed the valley mouth, and examined seven more pyramids in the plain below Dra' Abu'l Naga, we must suppose in the order in which they are entered in the *procès-verbal*. They then went up the Hatshepsut avenue to Deir el Baḥri to inspect the tomb of Mentuhotep III which, the scribe records, "is in Zeseret"—i.e., a different part of the Necropolis from that in which the last preceding tomb was found by the inspectors. The fact that only two Eleventh Dynasty tombs were inspected leads us to suppose that they were the only ones kept up at the end of the Theban Empire, and affords another example of the veneration in which the memories of Intef I and Mentuhotep III were held by their remote descendants.

<sup>1</sup> The discovery of the tomb by Lord Carnarvon and Mr. Carter (see *Jour. Eg. Arch.*, I, 216) in Dra' Abu'l Naga directly north of the mortuary temple of Amenhotep I confirms Spiegelberg's identification of the latter with the "House of Amenhotep of the Garden" (*Zwei Beiträge*, p. 1).



## THE HITTITE MATERIAL IN THE CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS

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A certain amount of linguistic material which is undoubtedly Hittite has been found in the cuneiform documents by Professor Friedrich Delitzsch, who has published this new contribution to our knowledge of the Hittite language in his *Sumerisch-Akkadisch-Hettitische Vokabularfragmente*.<sup>1</sup> This is by far the most important addition to this interesting and obscure field, as he presents to us for study twenty-six fragments of clay tablets, on which are three-column vocabularies, respectively of Sumerian, Babylonian, and Hittite words. This is a most significant discovery, as we have been hitherto compelled to rely on unilingual Hittite cuneiform texts which have naturally called forth a large conjectural literature. Of course, as is known to all serious scholars, all attempts to decipher the Hittite hieroglyphic inscriptions have resulted in a maze of contradictions and doubtful surmises.

That this non-Sumerian, non-Semitic material in the inscriptions published by Delitzsch is really Hittite is amply shown by its similarity to the material on two unquestionably Hittite connected texts, as yet unpublished, but on view in the Imperial Ottoman Museum at Constantinople (Delitzsch, p. 30, n. 1). Furthermore, this is undoubtedly the same idiom as that given by Knudtzon (*Arzawabriefe*, 1911); R. Campbell Thompson, "Hittite Clay Tablets from Asia Minor,"<sup>2</sup> *PSBA*, XXXII, 1910, p. 192 (Pl. XXV); also by Sayce, "Hittite Cuneiform Tablets from Boghaz Keui, *JRAS*, 1907, pp. 913-21; *ibid.*, 1908, pp. 985-91; *ibid.*, 1909, pp. 963-80 (also *PSBA*, XXIX, 1907, pp. 91-100).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Berlin, 1914, Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften.

<sup>2</sup> Cited as Thompson, a and b.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Theophilus G. Pinches, "Notes from the Fragments of Hittite Cuneiform Tablets from Yuzgat, Boghaz Keui," *Liverpool Annals*, III, 1910, pp. 99-106 (Pls. XXVI-XXVIII); *Asiatic Society Monographs*, XI, 1907: the Tablet from Yuzgat.

In the following treatise I have reproduced the linguistic material given by Delitzsch and some of that given by Knudtzon, with a considerable amount of additional independent commentary of my own, bearing directly on the characteristics of this Hittite idiom.<sup>1</sup>

#### PHONETICS

In addition to the material cited by Delitzsch (p. 31), it may be observed that *a* and *u* appear interchangeably, as *ištamaššuwār*<sup>2</sup> and *ištumaššuwār*; perhaps also in *baltanaš* and *baltanuš*, although this may indicate a case-change (see below, "The Noun"). Delitzsch points out (p. 32) that *e* and *i* also interchange, as *uešuri* and *uišuri*, and that *u* is constantly used for *w* as in the verbal ending *-uar* (=war), *passim*. Note also *kuiš*; *kuid*; *uanki*; *uesiš*, etc. Distraction seems to occur in *xar-zakiuwar* and *xuwar-zakiuwar*, while a genuine reduplication of the root is apparent in *xulzul-iawar*, and perhaps likewise in *xixin-ganiawar*, which latter word may have been originally onomatopoeic: *xin-xin-ganiawar* 'shout, rejoice.'

#### THE NOUN

Unfortunately many Hittite nouns are expressed only by ideograms+the nominative ending *š* (see "List of Elements and Roots," below), so that, while the meanings are in many instances perfectly clear, we are unable to fix the values for some of the most common substantives such as 'king, man,' etc.

The noun in the nominative case is certainly indicated by the suffix *-š* (*-aš*, *-iš*, *-uš*; see List), which, however, is clearly not a purely nominative ending in the Indo-Germanic sense, but rather an indicating case like the Georgian-*man*-case. This is demonstrated by the fact that the Hittite *-š*<sup>3</sup> is repeated in the compound: *lu xalugatalašmiš* 'my messengers,' and that this *-š* also follows the plural combination, i.e., stands after the plural sign, which is unfortunately always ideographically represented; viz., *DINGIR*+

<sup>1</sup> I have endeavored to indicate each case where Delitzsch has come to the same conclusion in connection with the linguistic structure which I have reached.

<sup>2</sup> For each Hittite word, see below in the Glossary or in the list of formative elements and roots.

<sup>3</sup> The ending *š* was also used for the nominative in Mitanni (cf. Bork, *Mitanni Sprache*, p. 46).

plural sign+*-aš* 'gods.' We do not know how this language indicated the plural, unless perhaps in some cases by *-(i)t*; cf. Arzawa, a, 5: *bi-ib-bi-it-mi* 'for my chariots' (?), as this is the only word of the series. Arzawa, a, 1-6, which shows no ideographic plural sign. It may, therefore, be conjectured that *bibbit-mi* is a fully spelled-out plural. It is interesting to notice that the plural element was inserted also between the noun and the possessive pronominal suffix, as Arzawa, a, 3: *E*+plural sign+*mi* 'for my houses'; *DAM*+plural sign+*mi* 'for my wives'; *TUR*+plural sign+*mi* 'for my children,' etc.

The accusative or, at least, the oblique case seems to have been indicated by *-n*,<sup>1</sup> which was recognized first by Knudtzon, Arzawa, a, 20: *xalugatallanmin* 'my messenger' (acc.); 12: *xalugatallatin* (= *an-tin*) 'thy messenger' (acc.). Note that this *-n* is repeated, similarly to the nom. *š* mentioned above, within the compound word; a very un-Aryan phenomenon.

There are several formative endings by means of which substantives were made, viz., *-anza*; *-eššar*; *-atar*; *-watar*; *-araz*; *-garaz* (see List), but many nouns appear without distinctive endings (Delitzsch, p. 35).

It is probable that there was no real distinction between adjectives and nouns, so far as endings were concerned; cf. *xuwappaš* 'bad'; *walkiššaraš* 'strong.' Furthermore, the genitive relation seems to have been expressed by pure apposition as *KUR-dš kar-beššar* 'the entirety (*karbeššar*) of the land' (*KUR-dš*), III, 41<sup>2</sup> (Delitzsch, pp. 35-36). Similarly, the adjective preceded the noun, as *ITU-dš kuššan* 'monthly wage,' IX, 1, 30.

For the dative relation, see "Pronouns," below.

A very curious and distinctly un-Aryan peculiarity seems to present itself in the formation, or at least indication, of the feminine adjective by the prefix *GUN*, in *GUN walkiššaraš* = Babylonian *lê tum*, fem. of *lê'u* 'strong.' It is not probable that Hittites made any distinction between masculine and feminine grammatically, but when it became necessary to denote a feminine word, they used,

<sup>1</sup> The ending *-n* was also used for the accusative in Mitanni, but might be omitted (Bork, *op. cit.*, p. 46).

<sup>2</sup> These are references to Delitzsch's texts, pp. 8-30.

after the fashion of many modern agglutinative languages,<sup>1</sup> a distinctive word meaning 'female.' This *GUN*, the Hittite pronunciation of which we know nothing about, meant 'heavy, gravid,' and hence 'female.' It probably was only employed in this combination, to show the Hittite student that Babylonian *lê tum* was feminine and that *walkiššaraš* in this particular instance meant 'a strong female.' My reason for arriving at this conclusion is that, if Hittite really had had a feminine, we should expect a difference in termination rather than a prefix in apposition.

#### PRONOUNS

There are as yet no instances of separable personal pronouns, but the possessive suffixes occur IX, 1, 23-28 (see below, Glossary, *kuššan*). It is perfectly clear that the elements of the 1, 2, and 3 persons respectively are *-m*, *-t*, and *-š*. It will be observed that *kuššanimi*, *kuššaniti*, and *kuššaniši* are used for Babylonian *ana itia*, *ana itika*, and *ana itišu* 'for my wage, for thy wage,' and 'for his wage,' respectively. Delitzsch, p. 40, calls attention to the probable dative force of the final *i*-vowel of these suffixes, inasmuch as the Babylonian equivalent is in the dative with *ana*. But how are we to account for the form <sup>14</sup>*zaluğatal-lašmiš*, which, as shown above, appears to be a nominative form meaning 'my messenger' (Delitzsch, p. 40), and not 'for my messenger'? In this form the *i*-vowel is shown just as much as in *kuššanimi*, *-iti*, *-iši*. Furthermore, it is clear that in the equations: *šuraš enzan kuššan* = *ana itikunu* 'for your wage'; *abi enzan kuššan* = *ana itišunu* 'for their wage,' and *anzel kuššan* = *ana itini* 'for our wage,' there is no apparent dative sign, a fact which was noticed also by Delitzsch, p. 33. How then, in the face of these facts, may we predicate that the *i*-vowel is necessarily a dative indication? On the other hand, it is not reasonable to suppose that *kuššanimi*, *kuššaniti*, *kuššaniši* are simple direct statements 'my wage, thy wage, his wage,' and that the *i*-vowel may not have had any specific inflectional force, because in Arzawa, a, 3-6, we find a series of what are very evident dative uses of the pronominal suffix: *kat-ti-mi*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. in Osmanli *erkek* 'male,' used before both human and animal names, as *erkek arslan* 'male lion'; *qız* 'female,' before human names alone, as *qız gardâş* 'sister'; *dîşi* 'female,' before animal names alone, as *dîşi arslan* 'lioness,' etc.

*DMQ-in E-* pl. *-mi*, *DAM-* pl. *-mi*, *TUR-* pl. *-mi*, <sup>14</sup>*MEŠ-* gal-gal-*dš*, *ZAB-* pl. *-mi*, <sup>1meru</sup>*KUR-RA-* pl. *-mi*, *bi-ib-bi-it-mi*, *KUR-KUR-* pl. *-mi*; *kán-an-da xuman DMQ-in* 'for myself (*kat*-?) may it be well; for my houses, for my wives, for my children, for my nobles, for my troops, for my horses, for my chariots (see above); for all of them together may it be well.' There can be no doubt of the prepositional force of the *mi*-element in this passage. On the other hand, we find *nu-mu*, Arzawa, a, 25: 'for me' (*nu*=prep.), if the *i*-vowel were an oblique sign we should expect *nu-mi*; cf. *-mu* also, a, 18; b, 10, 12, 21. In view of these seemingly contradictory examples, it were best to await more light from new inscriptions before arriving at a definite conclusion as to oblique relations in Hittite.

It will be noted that the pronoun of the 1 p. pl. is *anzel*, which seems to have no connection with the *m*-element of the 1 p. sing. Similarly, *šuraš*, evidently a noun *šur* with the nom. ending *-dš*, denotes the 2 p. pl.+what may be a pronominal plural *enzan*, which occurs also with *abi enzan* 'they.' I see in *a-nz-el* and *e-nz-an* the same element *nz* which appears in the abstract noun formative *a-nz-a* (see above). The only difficulty is to place the first personal element in *anzel*, which may appear in the final *l*(?). *Abi* in *abi enzan* 'they' is clearly the 3 p. pl. element.

#### THE VERB

Delitzsch calls attention (p. 36) to the infinitive *-yar* which is common to a number of verbs (for full discussion, see below, List). A number of verbs appear as compounds with a carrier as, in the List below, *s.v. -kunuwar*; *-iauwar*; *-appatar*; *-arnuwar* (see also *bartauwar*). This is a phenomenon seen also in the Turkic idioms, as in Osmanli the countless number of compounds with *etmek* especially; as *taḥsîl etmek* 'study'; *imtiḥân etmek* 'examine,' etc. The same phenomenon appears, however, in modern Persian *gum kardan* 'lose,' etc. See below (List) also on *an-da*, both as a prefix and as a possible insert. Delitzsch (p. 37) is clearly right in classifying *EGIR-pa* as a similar verbal auxiliary (see List). That infixation was peculiar to Hittite verbs is evident from the *-ki-* and *-kud-* elements, on which see List. Similar to this may be cited the well-known Osmanli infixes: *ish*=reflexive; *dir*=causative; *il*=passive; *me*=negative,

etc. Unfortunately, our knowledge of Hittite is as yet too fragmentary to know the exact force of *-ki-* and *-kud-*, although they may be reflexive.

One very interesting point which has been overlooked by Delitzsch is the addition of the prefix *paršuš* (=Delitzsch Vocab.: *panšuš*?) to the verb-root, to give the imperfective or perhaps frequentative effect: *KASKAL-dš*=*alaktum* 'going, the act of going,' but *panšuš KASKAL-dš*=*alkakatum* 'the act of going constantly.' I see in *p-anšuš* the formative participial *p*, seen also in *-pān* (List)=*p*+the frequent participial *-an*, for full discussion of which see List below.

The negative was expressed almost constantly by *ù-ul*, which is clearly the Babylonian negative. On the other hand, *natta* occurs as probably the genuine Hittite negative (see Glossary)=the negative *n(a)*+adverbial *ta*=*da* (see *-da*, List). Note that *šegganza*= 'strong,' but *nišugianza*= 'old.' Can there be a negative *n(i)* in this compound='not strong' (*šugianza*), a variant of *šegganza* (see Glossary, s.v. *nišugianza*)?

#### PARTICLES

As to prepositional elements we are comparatively certain only as to *nu-* (List), which occurs also with *nu-mu*, Arzawa, a, 25: *nu-mu* 'for me'(?). The adverbial *da* as in *xumān-da* should be noted here (List, s.v. *-da*, and Glossary, s.v. *xumān*).

It will be apparent from the material just cited, as well as from the analysis of the language in the following List and Glossary, that Hittite was almost certainly an agglutinative language. We find, for example, in connection with roots, that these are clearly recognizable in several instances, and that they usually either precede or are infixes in the word-compound; see List, s.v. *al-* *ap-*; *gan* (1) and (2); *duš-*; *zal-*; *xap-*; *zar-*; the infix *-iax-*; *me-*; *nax-*; *šal-*; *waš-*, and *za-*. Prefixes are freely used also, both to round out the roots as in the case of *x* (cf. *al-* and *zal-*), *k* (*kallaratta*), and *š* (cf. *al-* and *šal*), and also to create verbal compounds, as in the case of *ar-*; *watar-* (also suffixes); *iš-* (also suffix), and *wal-* (cf. List). The infixes *ki* and *kud* have already been discussed above, and it may be supposed that these were by no means the only infixations which Hittite made use of.

Finally in this connection, the language made use of many suffixes, as *-aeš*; *-an*; *-anza*; *-araz*; *-áš*; *-atar*; *-da*; *-eš*; *-eššar*; *-(g)araz*; *-gatal*; *-id*; *-nu-war*; *-pân*; *-tar*; *-yar*; *-uš*; *-war*, and *watar*, for full discussion of which cf. List. Then, too, the suffixation of the pronominal elements *-m*, *-t*, *-š* is distinctly an agglutinative peculiarity.<sup>1</sup>

Knudtson followed by Bugge and Torp tried to show that this is an "Anatolian" Indo-Germanic idiom, possibly connected with Balto-Slavic(?), but such an assumption can only be based on the wildest sort of conjecture. For example, the presence of *m*, *t*, and *š* for the 1, 2, and 3 pronominal possessive suffixes by no means implies an Indo-Germanic stem, as Ugric also shows similar elements in its pronouns; note the Ugric verbal suffixes 1 p. *-m*: Magyar: *also-m* 'I sleep'; Wogul: *minne-m* 'I go'; Wotjak: *kulo-m* 'I die'; 2 p. *-t*: Finnish: *mene-t* 'thou goest'; Cheremissian: *ula-t* 'thou art'; Mordvinian: *kuli-t* 'thou didst die'; 3 p. *-s*: Esthonian: *sen*; Lappish: *son*; Syrjenish: *si*, *sy* 'they, he' (Jos. Szinnyei, *Finnisch-Ugrische Sprachwissenschaft*, pp. 112, 148-50). This resemblance would be but a slight thread on which to base a comparison with Hittite, and yet Bugge and Torp (Knudtson, *Arzawa-Briefe*, pp. 98 and 108 ff.) cite even more fanciful similarities between the Arzawa material and Indo-Germanic. It is only proper to state that Knudtson has since that time changed his view as to the relation of Hittite with Aryan (Delitzsch, p. 41, quoting Otto Weber, *Anmerkungen zu Knudtson's El-Amarna Tafeln*, p. 1074). Furthermore, the fact that the forms *kuiš*, evidently relative, *kuid*, adverbial, 'how' = relative *ku* + adverbial *id*; *e-eš-sá-i*, *e-eš-tu*, *ešwar*, as parts of the verb 'to be' (= *warši*; Glossary), and *natta* 'not,' occur in Hittite is not a sufficient reason for supposing that we have in this language an Indo-Germanic variant, any more than Hittite *xalanta* 'head' would justify a connection with Slavic *glava*. The known vocabulary of Hittite as herein presented does not show any clear relationship with Aryan,<sup>2</sup> nor do the scanty but clear grammatical forms indicate

<sup>1</sup> The suffixation in modern Persian of the pronominal elements *-m*, *-t*, *-š* respectively for the 1, 2, and 3 persons is a tendency toward agglutination which is unusual in Aryan idioms.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Bloomfield in *American Journal of Philology*, XXV, in his able paper on the language of the Arzawa letters, has also reached this conclusion.

that we have in Hittite other than an agglutinative idiom of a polysynthetic character. This is amply demonstrated in the root-formation and also in the method of making word-compounds. Chance similarities should not be cited to prove the linguistic position of this interesting, but, as yet, little-known language. Equally fruitless is a search for relationship between Hittite and Mitanni, as a comparison between Bork's Mitanni vocabulary in his *Mitanni Sprache* and this Hittite word-list will satisfactorily demonstrate. We must be content for the present with the thesis that we have in Hittite a polysynthetic agglutinative idiom of unknown relationship, but whose systems of word-formation and grammatical structure are beginning to become clear to us. For this reason the comment on the material in the following List and Glossary is limited to the Hittite vocabulary exclusively, no attempt being made to draw comparisons with other idioms.

## LIST OF FORMATIVE ELEMENTS AND ROOTS

## A

-a-eš; abstract ending; *mekk-deš*; *šall-deš*.

*az*; apparently the common root in *arazanta* and *waznuwar*. In *naz-šaraz* there may be another *az*-root.

-*allan*-; is this identical with -*alant*- respectively in *ballanaš* 'side' and *zalanta* 'head'?

-*al*- seems to denote size; *š-alldeš* and *k-allaratta*. Cf. *šal*.

-*alu-š*; same root as in *idaluš* 'bad' and *tattaluš-ki-uwar* 'loosen'?

*an*-; or -*an* is a very common element. It appears as a prefix, for example, in *anda*-; *an-tuzšatar*; *an-nanuwar*; *an-karpanğarzi*; *anzel*; as an infix in *aššantiuwar*(?) and *šippanduwar*, *šippandanzi*; as a suffix in the *p-an* element (*q.v.*) seen in *uizzapan*; also probably in *enzan*, *nuššan*, *zumân*, *enidian*, *zarwašibedan*, *uešurian*, etc.; in verbs = participle.

*anda* is a very common element, probably of transitive force, as in *anda-gaimpauwar*; *anda-waznuwar*; *anda-tarubbuar*; *anda-tarnuwar*; *anda-zapatiuwar*; *anda-aššanti-awar* (cf. Delitzsch, p. 37, and see below, *EGIR-pa*). It is possible, however, that this *anda* appears as an insert and suffix; as probably in *aššant-i-awar* and in the form -*anta*- in *arazanta* and possibly also in *išt-anta-war*. *Anda* seems to be compounded of *an* + the same *da*-element seen in *zumân-da*, and perhaps in *da-me-da* (*q.v.*), and see *anz*, *anza*.

*anz* is apparently in the compounds *al-u-anza-tar*; *ar-anza-ša*; *zap-anz-uwar*. It is doubtful whether this is the same *anza* which appears in a



great number of nouns as a formative; cf. *nišugianza*; *šakkianza*; *watar-naxzanza*; *xaršallanza*; *ša-a-anza*; *ziantarnanza*; *zarnanza* (= *xarranza* ?); *šegganza*; *turianza*; *iddanza*; *a-a-anza*; *dudduwanza*; *šipanza*, VAT. 6175; *našturianza*, VAT. 6693. This *anz*, *anza* seems to contain the same element as *enz-an* (see Glossary). It probably had a demonstrative indicative force.

*ap(b)-*; apparently the root of *appatar*; *xapatiawar*; *zapanzuwar*; *xabbuwalašzaš*. Note that *appatar* forms a compound in *kurur-appatar*.

*ar-*; a common prefix; *arauwaniš*; *aranzaša*; *arazzanda*; *ariaz-eššar*; *arballimi*; *ar-kammaš*; *arkuwar*; *arnuwar*. It seems to be the main element of *w-ar* (*q.v.*). As a suffix, cf. *zakk-ar*; *SI-ar* 'horn,' III, 44. See *-atar*; *-eššar*, *-war*.

*-araz*; possibly the suffix of *nax-š-araz* and *duš-q-araz*.

*-dš*, *passim*. Delitzsch regards it as the nominative suffix, the characteristic of which, however, is plainly *š* (*q.v.*). For full list, see Delitzsch, pp. 34-35.

*-atar* (*w-atar*); noun ending: *antuxš-atar*; *išwanidwatar*. Cf. also *alwanzatar*, *appatar*. This must contain the same element as *-ar*, *-tar*. See, however, *watar-*.

## B

*bar-*; is this a prefix, or part of the root in *bar-kunuwar*; *bar-tauwar*?

*-bi-š*; a suffix in *ubbiš*; *tam(?)-bubiš*; *šalbiš*. Is it a prefix, or part of the root in *biš-gari*?

## D

*-d* = (*i*)*d*; apparently an adverbial ending in *uddanid*; *kuid*. Perhaps formative also in *enidian*. It, no doubt, contains the same element as *-da*. See *da*; *id*.

*-da* is seen in *anda*; *xumân-da*. Cf. (*i*)-*d*; *id*. On the other hand there seems to be a prefix *da-* in *da-me-da*; *da-meš-xiš*. Is this the same element?

*duš* seems to be a root denoting 'rejoice'(?); *duš-garaz*; *duš-kuduwar*.

## E

*EGIR-pa*, written as an ideogram followed by the phonetic complement(?) *-pa* indicating that the first syllable of the original H. word ended in *-p*. It appears as a compound element with verbs, as *EGIR-pa ešuwar* = Bab. *tukkultum*; *?-i EGIR-pa taruwar* = Bab. *bedû (pidû)* 'loosen, set free'; *EGIR-pa waznuwar* 'surround.' It is one of the apparently many components which modify the force of the verb. Cf. *anda-*; *ešuwar*.

*-eš* seems to have a collective force as with *a-*, in *šall-šeš*, but only as *-eš* in *kalaratte-eš*. Is this the *-eš* of the verb 'to be' (see above) seen evidently in *-eššar*?

*-eššar* is a noun-formative (Delitzsch, p. 34), probably cognate with *-eš* and of collective (hence abstract) force; *ariaz-eššar*; *karb-eššar*; ( )-*dan-nat-eššar*, VIII, 1, 8; *tarubb-eššar*. It is plainly *eš* + *-ar*.

## G

-g-; see -garaz; -gatal and cf. *k*.

*ga(n)* (1) seems to denote 'sorrow, grief'; *gaim-pauwar*; *gan-galaš*; *ganmani-auwar*.

*gan* (2) may be identical with *kar* in *karb-eššar* (= *kan*). See Glossary.

-garaz; see -araz.

-gatal (-katal) appears as a formative in *zalu-gatalaš* and *uešurigatalaš*.

The occurrence of *g* in *g-araz* and in -*gatal* seems to indicate that *g* was also a formative element.

## X

*zal-* in the sense 'take, receive,' appears in *zal-iš* and *zalu-gatalaš*.

*xap-* (*xab-*) appears in *xapatiawar*, *xapanzuwar*, *xabbuwalašhaš*. The *x-* here and in *zal-* would appear to indicate that it was a prefix, as both *x-al* and *x-ap(b)* (cf. *ap-patar*) have the sense 'seize, be strong.' Note *al-wanzatar*. Is this connected with *x-al*, or is the sense of the stem in the *anz-* element? On the other hand, the following *xar* is quite different.

*xar-*; a root denoting probably something evil: *xar-panal* 'enemy'; *xar-r-anza* 'evil'; *xar-zakiuwar?* (*xuwar-zakiuwar*); *xar-šallanza* 'angry'; *xar-la-iš* 'curse.' If *xar-du* = 'quiver,' this must be a different stem.

## I

-iax; is this the same stem in *ar-iax-eššar* and *iš-iax-x-eš?*

-ian; participial; see -an.

-iauwar 'make, do'; the most common verbal formative in compounds.

For full list, cf. Glossary.

-id; apparently participial element seen in *id-aluš(?)* as prefix, in *en-id-ia-an* as infix, and in *išuwān-id* as suffix. See (-)d and da.

-iš; prefix in *iš-iaxzeš*; *iš-uwānidwatar*; *iš-barriauwar*; *iš-kiša*; *iš-tammašuwar*; *iš-tammaš*; *iš-tanani-ia-dš*; *iš-tananaš*; *iš-tantauar*; *iš-tumaššuwar*; *iš-xaš-*; *iš-xiauwar*; *iš-xima(?) -naš*; *iš-šaltu*. Whether this is the same element as the *i+š* seen in the nom. *IGI-RA-iš*, IX, 2, 14, and *GU-GÁL-iš*, IX, 3, 14 is not clear. As a suffix we find -iš in *uesiš*, *arawaniš*, *buwattiš*, *ballašurimiš*, *tarpalliš*, *šalbis*, *šettiš*, *šangariš*, where it is apparently the nominative ending.

## K

*k* as a preformative element seems to occur in *k-allaratta*. Perhaps cognate with -*g* (q.v.).

*kar* = *kan* (*gan*); cf. *gananda* and *karbeššar*.

-ki- as infix apparently like *ku-d* (q.v.). Cf. *bunuš-ki-uwar*; *paxzeš-ki-uwar*; *tattaluš-ki-uwar*; *xuš-ki-uwar*; *xarza-ki-uwar*; *xuwarza-ki-uwar*; *mal-ki-uwar*.

-kud-; an infix of apparently the same character as -ki-: *duš-kud-uwar* *miliš-kud-a*.

## M

*me* is the root which is seen in *da-me-e-da* and *me-ik-ki* and seems to indicate size. It is probably also present in *damešziš*.

## N

*nax*; is the root appearing in *nax-šaraz* and *watar-naxzanza*. See *ax*.  
*nu* is quite evidently prepositional (see Delitzsch, p. 36). It occurs with *kuid*; *nu-kuid* in the sense *ana mini* 'how' and also *nu-kuššan* and *nuššan*. Is it also present as a directive infix in *-nuwar*? Possibly it occurs in Arzawa, a, 25: *nu-mu* 'for me.'

*-nuwar*; perhaps in *anna-nuwar*; certainly in *ar-nuwar*, *tar-nuwar*, *waz-nuwar*.

## P

*-pa-a-an*; clearly a participial suffix with the participial *p*+participial *-an*: *uizza-pān*; *zar-pan-al*; *šip-pan-d-uwar*; *ši-pan-danzi*. This *p*-element is evidently present in *p-auwar*=*p+iauwar* 'make, do.'

## Š

š appears as a preformative probably in *š-al-bi-iš*, *šallāeš*; cf. *šal*. It is the ordinary nominative ending with undoubtedly indicative force (cf. Delitzsch, pp. 33-34). It occurs *passim* after the *a*-vowel (Delitzsch, p. 33), not so frequently after *i*, p. 34, and only three times, viz., *baltanuš*, *šarkuš*, *idaluš*, after *u*. It is worthy of note that this š-element appears in the plural after the plural-sign as *DINGIR*+pl.+*-dš* which shows that the plural element must have been inserted *between* the noun and the š; similarly, we find š after the apparent dative vowel *i* in the pronominal possessive forms *xalugatallašmiš*.

ša is a stem indicating anger; *xaršallanza*, *ša(?) -a-an-za*, *uštaššan*.

š/sal- probably for š/s+*al* indicates size; *šalbiš*, *šallāeš*, *šalšui*. See *al*.

## T

*-t*; plural sign(?) in *bibbit-mi* 'for my chariots,' Arzawa, a, 5, 9.

*-tar* as a suffix in *alwanza-tar*, *appa-tar*, or is this *-atar* (q.v.). Cf. especially *-watar*. We find a prefix *tar* in *tar-iašhaš*; *tarubbuar*, *tarnuwar*.

## U

*-uar*; see *-war*.

*-uš*; see s.v. š.

## W

*wal*; apparently prefix in *wal-kiššaraš*. Is this the same *wal*-element as that in *xabbu-wal-ašzaš*?

*-war*; a large number of Hittite verbs end in *-war* (Delitzsch, pp. 36-37): *pašgauwar*; *xandauwar*, *šallauwar*, *tialuwar*, *bartauwar*, *xalluwauwar*, *kuš-duwandauwar*, *ištantauwar*; *laxuwar*, *ešuar*, *bunuššuar*, *ištamaššuar*,

*ištumaššuwar, šeluwar, kunnuwar, bar-kunnuwar, annanuwar, xanišuwar, and šippanduwar.* Note also *iauwar, kanini-iauwar*, etc., compounds with *iauwar* (q.v.); also in the noun *kariwariwar*. Delitzsch (*loc. cit.*) regards this *-war* as primarily of infinitive, i.e., of verb-noun, force. I identify it with the suffix *-ar* (q.v.) + the connecting or carrying *-w-*. It seems to be present also in *warši-* 'to be' and consequently probably denotes 'that which does' or 'is' + the verb-action.

*waš*, as a root may be present in *wašši* 'fix, surround' and perhaps also in *ištumaššuwar, ištumaššuwar*.

*-watar* is only *-atar* with prefixed carrying *w*. It occurs as a suffix: *išwanid-watar*, and as a prefix in *watar-nazzanza*.

## Z

*za*, as a root, seems to appear in *zar-xa-ki-uwar* and *xuwar-za-ki-uwar*. Is this the same *za* as in *zakkar*?

## GLOSSARY

## A

*a-a-an-za* = šanīnu 'opponent,' I, 2, 3: *a-a-an-za ku-iš* . . . . šanīnam la išu; in Hittite 'a rival who' (*kuiš*) . . . .; in Bab. 'a rival who has not'—; *a-a-an-za ku-iš u(?)* . . . šanīnam la idû. In Hittite 'a rival who' . . .; in Bab. 'a rival he knows not.' It is probable that in each H. line, the usual H. negative *u-ul* (q.v.) followed *a-a-an-za*. The verb in H. in each case has been mutilated. See s.v. *ša-a-an-za*, and for the probable completion of the above H. lines, s.v. *arkuwar*.

*a-a-ra* 'good,' IX, 4, 7: *u-ul a-a-ra* = Sum. *ni-gig* 'what is sorrowful.' The presence of the negative *u-ul* before *a-a-ra* makes it probable that this word means 'good' or 'joyful.' See s.v. the synonym *ga(n)-ma(?)-ni-iawar*.

*a-bal-ša(?) -za* = Bab. *kitmalu* (*gitmalu*) 'perfect' = Sum. *gû-tug* which also = *ašaredum* 'leader, first.' See s.v. *š/sarkuš*; *zi-in-nu-* ( ).

*a-bi en-za-an* 'they,' p. 33. In this connection *abi* is apparently the sign of the third person plural, while *enzan* emphasizes the plural. Cf. *enzan, šuraš*.

*a-la-li-ma-aš* (not in Vocabulary); cf. *a-ma-aš*.

*al-wa-an-za-tar*, XI, rev. 8, may mean 'strong,' as it seems to contain *al*, *x-al*, and note *-anz-*, for which see *aranzaša, zapanzuwar, šalbiš*.

*a-ma-aš a-la-li-ma-aš*, III, 5 = Bab. *xatitum*, probably a part of *xuddû* 'rejoice'(?). The Sum. line ends in *?-ta-la-ta* and Sum. *tá-ga* = *duškuduwar* (q.v.) = Bab. *xutaddû*. *Alalimaš* is not in the Vocabulary.

*a-ni-an*: UD.KAM. *-áš a-ni-ia-an ku-iš e-es-šá-i*; does this mean 'that which is (*kuiš eššai*) the daily *anian*'; possibly = 'tribute'? Not in Vocabulary. See *e-eš-šá-i*.

*ankarpanğarzi*: *du-da-za ku-iš tur an-ka-ar-pa-an-ğar-zi*, IX, 1, 39; without equivalent. Seems to contain the participial *-pan-*.

*an-na-an-nu-wa-ar* = Sum. *lu ni-ġul* = Bab. *gullubu* 'destroy.'  
*an-tu-ux-ša-tar* = Bab. *ntšu* and *tenišu* 'people, human beings';  
 cf. II, rev. 15, and cf. *tuxšaš*.

*an-zi-el*, IX, 1, 28; clearly the 1 p. pl.: *an-zi-el kuššan* 'for(?) our wage';  
 cf. p. 33.

*appatar*, XI, obv. 11: *ap-pa-tar* = Bab. *çabâtum* 'seize'; but obv. 12  
*gamû* (*kamû*) 'bind.' Note *kurur appatar* = *zârum*, XI, rev. 4, but  
*zârum* or *çârum* = H. *uešuri-awar*, IX, 2, 46; *uišuri-awar*, IX, 2, 32, so  
*zârum* (*çâru*) is probably similar in meaning to *cabâtu*. See s.v.  
*uesiš* and *xapanzuwar*, *xapatiawar*.

*a-ra-az-a-an-la waznuwar* = Bab. *limêtum* 'border,' IX, 3, 47, but  
 Delitzsch gives *arazzanda*, Arzawa, b 19. Cf. *anda* and *waznuwar*, which  
 latter means clearly 'circumference, inclosure.'

*a-ra-an-za-ša-(a)* = Bab. *gašru* 'powerful,' No. 7453, p. 7, n. 3. Pos-  
 sibly contains *-anz-*. Cf. *alwanzarar*, *xapanzuwar*.

*a-ra-u-wa-ni-iš* = Bab. *ellum* 'bright, shining,' XI, obv. 4.

*ar-ba-al-li-mi*, II, rev.; see p. 11. Must mean 'to my arbal' (?) = 'enemy,  
 evil one.' Cf. *ballašurimiš*.

*a-ri-a-xi-eš-šar* = Bab. *bêru* 'sight, appearance,' IX, 5, 15 (p. 25). The  
 stem *-iax-* is seen in *išiazzeš* (q.v.)

*ar-ka-am-ma-aš* = Bab. *irbu*, IX, 5, 17. This must be the noun  
 'increase'; cf. *Liverpool Annals*, III, Pl. XXVIII, No. viii: *arkamman*;  
*arkammuš*, the first of which is plainly accusative in *-n*.

*arkuwar*: *-ut-ta-ni-i-za ku-iš ar-ku-wa-ar na-at-ta i-ia-zi* = Bab. *ša*  
*têrtam irtam lā išû*; the Sum. is mutilated (see p. 9). This seems  
 to mean 'uttantza who has (*i-ia-zi*) no resistance' (*arkuwar*). Note also in  
 the following line: *-ut-ta-ni-i-za ku-iš ar-ku-wa-ar na-at-ta ša-?-ki* = Bab.  
*ša têtartam irtam lā idû* 'uttantza knows (*ša-?-ki*) no resistance.'  
 The words *i-ia-zi* and *ša-?-ki* should be inserted in I, 2-3 (see above,  
 s.v. *a-a-an-za*). Is *arkuwar* connected with *arku(w)aš* below? For  
*-ut-ta-ni-i-za*, see *uddanid*.

*ar-ku(?)aš*, in *išiazzeš arkuāš*, I, 12. Cf. *išiazzeš*.

*ar-nu-wa-ar*, evidently a factitive, as in *uštaššan arnuwar* = Bab. *uzzuzu*,  
 X, obv. 3; may mean 'be angry' (?). Cf. *tarnuwar*; *uštaššan*.

*dš-šd-an-ti-ia-u-wa-ar*; no equivalent, IX, 2, 8.

*a-wa-an-ka-ta šu-ia-an-ta-ri*, IX, 2, 39; no equivalent, but occurs between  
 two lines, 38: *ballanuš kuedani* = Bab. *axu natu* (*nadû*) and 40: Bab.  
*zenû* 'be angry' = H. *ša(?)an-za* q.v.; all = Sum. *ġu-šub-ba*.

## B

*bal-la-dš-šû-ri-mi-iš* = Sum. *ġû-zal* = Bab. *kuzzallu*, IX, 2, 29, but *ġû-zal*  
 = *pireštum*, which may = *pirictu* 'lie' (n.) and *xizzitum* (?).  
 Delitzsch (*Sum. Lex.*, 112) gives *gu-za-lá* 'evil one, ruffian, swindler,' so that  
 the Bab. *kuzzallum* here probably had a bad meaning and did not mean

'shepherd' (Meissner). There is very probably a dative of the first person singular here -imi+nom. š. Cf. *arballimi*, where perhaps the same root *bal* appears.

*bal-la-na-dš* 'side' = Bab. *a x u*, IX, 2, 19; cf. IX, 4, 14, and IX, 2, 38: *bal-la-nu-uš ku-e-da-ni* = Bab. *a x u na-tu-u (nadû)*. I believe this really means 'lean down toward one side,' the directive element being found in the u-vowel in *ballanuš* (cf. *nu*). Note that Sum. *gû* = *a x u* = *ballanaš* and also *zalanta* = *rêš u* 'head' (q.v.). Is there any connection between *b-altan-a-š* and *x-alant-a*?

*bar-ku-nu-war* = Bab. *ubbubu*, III, 11 'purify,' but the Sum. is *ud-du* (?) which means always 'go out, let go out,' so that *ubbubu* may have this meaning here. This is a combination of *bar*+*kunuwar*. Delitzsch points that this *bar* may have the value *maš*.

*bar-ta-u-wa-ar* = *a b r u* 'pinion, wing,' IX, 1, 35, 36. Note, however, that in the immediately preceding line (34) we find *BAT-tar* with the horizontal double wedge = *kappu* 'wing' = Sum. (d)-*sud*. This horizontal double wedge is common in these inscriptions and might be thought to correspond to our ditto-mark. Note IX, 1, 16, where the word of the preceding line (15) is repeated and still the wedge appears. In III, 5, 5, the real ditto-sign is present plus the horizontal wedge, which seems to show that the latter is not necessarily a ditto. In IX, 1, 34, if this wedge is a ditto, it must point below to *bartauwar*, in which case the equation in 34 is to be read *bar-tar*. If we read the horizontal wedge phonetically the reading would be *bal-tar*, which would prove the *bar*-value in *bartauwar* and exclude the possible *maštauwar* suggested by Delitzsch.

*bi-bi-ēš-šar*, Arzawa, a, 28. Connected with *bi-ib-bi-it*?

*bi-ib-bi-it*, Arzawa, a, 5, 9. Knudtzon renders *bibbit-mi* 'for my chariots' (p. 54). See below, *gananda*, for description of the passage, and above, "Grammar."

*bi-ra-an*, IX, 1, 33 in *ku-ul-ti bi-ra-an* = Bab. *ša x â t u m* = Sum. (d)-*sud*, possibly 'side.' But *birdn* occurs also, Thompson, a, 7 (cf. p. 31): *=l-ia-ra-si-ia-aš birdn e-ēš-zi*. Cf. *e-ēš-zi*.

*bi-iš-ga-ri* = Bab. *bidû (pidû)* 'loosen,' IX, 4, 49. Note *?-EGIR-pa ud-da-ni-id* = *bidû (pidû)*, X, 1, 18. Cf. *uddanid*.

*bu-ug-gân-za* = Bab. *ze-e-ru*, syn. of *a-ia-bu* = H. *zar-pa-an-al* 'enemy,' I, 18; cf. IX, 4, 3. This *bugganza* and *kušduwandaubar* (q.v.) correspond to a single Sumerian word, IX, 4, 3, obliterated.

*bu-nu-uš-šû-u-ur-ar* = Bab. *ša 'â lu* 'ask,' X, obv. 11, but 12-13: *bu-nu-uš-ki-u-ur-ar* = *šitâ lu*.

*bu-ur-al-ti-iš* = Bab. *ši-in-tum* = Sum. *še-bad-da*, IX, 4, 47, which may be a by-form of *še-bi-da* 'sin'(?). What is *šintum (šindu)*? According to *MA*, p. 1072, *šindu* is the name of a sort of ornament and = 'a sign or mark on cattle.' Note that Sum. *SE.TU* = *šim tu*, possibly the same word. In view of the equation of *bucattiš* with Sum. *še-bad-da* (= *še-bi-da*?)

and of the fact that Bab. *šanādu* denotes some sort of sickness, I am inclined to attribute a bad meaning to *buwalliš*.

## D

*da-me-e-da* = Bab. *duššû* 'plentiful,' XI, obv. 15; probably contains the same stem as *dameš* (q.v.), and cf. *me-ik-ki*, and *√-me-* (List).

*da-me-iš-izi-iš ki-zi-ku-uš*, IX, 2, 37 = Sum. *gû-gal* = Bab. *xâbilu* 'robber' may mean literally 'one who injures (or removes) property' (= plenty). Cf. *dameda*.

*dan-na-ra*, IX, 1, 32; cf. *s.v. ku-e-da-ni*; *tuwad*.

*da-aš-šu-da* = Sum. *â-gâl* = Bab. *lê'u* 'strong,' IX, 1, 9.

*du-da-za ku-iš tur an-ka-ar-pa-an-ġar-zi*, IX, 1, 39; without equivalent of any sort. See *ankarpanġarzi*. The construction seems to be: 'the *dudaza* who or which (= *ku-iš*) performs some verbal action (*ankarpanġarzi*) on the *tur*' (powerful?). Cf. *tur*.

*du-ud-du-wa-an-za*, II, rev. 6; p. 5 on 7763. No equivalent.

*du-uš-ġa-ra-az* = Bab. *xuddû* 'rejoice' (?), III, 3 (cf. Bab. *xud libbi* 'joy of heart' and note *du-uš-ku-du-war*, III, 4 = the infixed form *xutaddû*). Cf. *-ġaraz*.

## E

*en-id-ia-a(n)*, XII, col. a: *EBUR š-a-uš en-id-ia-a(n)*, which must refer to fruits of the field; followed by *ŠE nu-uš-ša-an* 'grain for him or it' (?). Cf. *nuššan*.

*en-za-an*, IX 1, 26, 27: *šû-ra-aš en-za-an ku-uš-ša-an* = Sum. *â-zu-šû-ne-a-dš* = Bab. *ana itikunu* 'for your (pl.) wage'; *a-bi en-za-an ku-uš-ša-an* = Sum. *â-bi-šû* = Bab. *ana itišunu* 'for their wage.' *Enzan* is probably a plural element, following the apparent pronominal forms *šuraš* = 2 p. pl. and *abi* = 3 p. pl.

*e-eš-ša-i* with *a-ni-ia-an*, IX, 1, 18 = Sum. *â-ġiš-ġar-ra* and Bab. (*iš*)-*ġa-ġar*, an inexplicable form. Both these words (Sum. and Bab.) are explained by the H. phrase: *UD.KAM.-aš a-ni-ia-an ku-iš e-eš-šâ-i*, which seems to mean 'that which is (*kuiš êššai*) the daily *a-ni-ia-an*.' This appears to indicate that *a-ni-ia-an* must indicate a sort of tax or tribute, as Sum. *â-ġiš-ġar-ra* may be thus interpreted; viz., *â* 'sum, wage' + *ġiš-ġar-ra* 'to establish.' In Arzawa, a, 17, *a-ni-ia-at-ta-aš* occurs and may mean there 'thy (-t) tribute or tax' = *a-ni-ia*. If this is so, the *-n* in *a-ni-ia-an* of IX, 1, 18 may be adverbial = 'for a tax, that which is for a tax.' See above on the grammar.

*e-eš-tu*, Arzawa, a, 5, 10. There seems to be no doubt that this means 'may it be,' as the phrase reads: *katta xumân DMQ-in e-eš-tu*, which Knudtson translates 'with thee (*kat-ta*) entirely (*xumân*, q.v.) well (DMQ+Adv. -in) may it be' (*e-eš-tu*). See *e-eš-zi*; *warši*.

*e-eš-zi*; see p. 31: *ṢI-ia-ra-si-in-dš bi-ra-an e-eš-zi*; *ṢI-ku-uš-ša-dš bi-ra-an e-eš-zi*; *ṢI-bi-ia-ku-ta-ra-u-wa-a-dš bi-ra-an e-eš-zi*, in all of which

phrases *e-ēš-zi* is probably a part of the verb 'to be,' but whether it is the second person or participial is not clear. Cf. *e-ēš-tu* and *warši*; *ešuwar*.

*ešuwar*, IX, 1, 7, 8: *EGIR-pa e-šu-wa-ar*, the second time (8) followed by the horizontal wedge described above=Bab. *tuk* (KU)-*kul-tum* 'support, aid'=Sum. *ā-gāl* 'be strong.' *Ešuwar* here must also represent the verb 'to be.' *eš-* + the verbal noun ending *-war*, and the phrase must mean 'one who is (*ešuwar*) for an aid'=EGIR+the participial *-pa* (q.v.).

## G

*gā-im-pauwar*, IX, 3, 55: *an-da-gā-im-pa-u-wa-ar* with the prefix *anda* (q.v.) under formative elements=Bab. *ašāšum* 'be sorrowful'=Sum. (*si*), in a long list of different meanings of Sum. *si*. In line 34, the same H. word=Bab. *ašakar*=Sum. (*si*), an impossible combination(?). See p. 24. The stem *gam-gan* seems to indicate sorrow; cf. *gangalaš*, *ganmaniauwar*.

*gan-an-da*, Arzawa, a, 5, occurs at the end of a long sentence, in which it is clear the king is invoking blessings on his houses, wives, children, nobles, troops, beasts of burden, and lands in general, as all these are Sumerian ideograms; the list ends with the words *gan-an-da xumān DMQ-in*=*'gan-an-da exceedingly (xumān) may it be well' (DMQ-in)*. This *gan* is clearly a different stem from *gan-gam* 'sorrowful,' and, being coupled with the participial *-an-da*, the expression *gan-an-da* may be regarded as a possible pronominal expression 'with them' (?) or perhaps='with them all.' Knudtzon reads *gan* as *kan*, which is suggestive of *kar* in *karbeššar* 'entirety' (q.v.).

*ga-an-ga-la-āš*, IX, 5, 13=Sum. *kib*=Bab. *kippu* perhaps from *ka-pā-pu* 'bend down'='depression' (cf. *MSL*, s.v. *kib*). In this case *gangalaš* is cognate with *gaimpauwar* and *ganmaniauwar* (q.v.).

*gā(n)-ma(?) -ni-iauwar*, IX, 4, 6=Sum. *ni-gig* 'sorrow'='what is sorrowful'; also synonym of *u-ul a-a-ra*, so it must be a cognate of the preceding words.

## X

*xa-ab-bu-wa-la-āš-xa-āš*, IX, 1, 38; no equivalent. Cf. *walkiššaraš*.

*xa-ad-ri-eš-šar*, IX, 1, 15=Bab. *têrtum* 'law'; *urtum* 'command'; synonym of *walkiššaraš* and *watar-naxxanza* (q.v.). Perhaps cognate with Arzawa, b, 22: *xa-ad-ri-eš-ki* (?).

*xa-li-iš* ( ), IX, 3, 56=Bab. *uxxuzu* 'take'; probably cognate with the first element in *xalugatalla* (q.v.).

*xa-la-an-ta*, IX, 2, 17=Bab. *rêšu* 'head'=Sum. *gû*; synonym of *kišadum* 'neck' and *pâtum* 'front'; also of *baltanaš* (q.v.).

*xa-lu-ga-tal-la*, Arzawa, a, 12: *xalugattallanmin* 'for my messenger'; 19: *xalugatallan* accus. of oblique; and *xalugatallattin* 'thy (acc.) messenger'; 23: *xalugatallaša*; Knudtzon renders 'with (?) a messenger'; Delitzsch, p. 40: *xalugatalašmiš* 'my messenger' (nom.). See *xališ*-, *uešuri*-, and s.v. *-gatalla*.



*zal-lu-wa-u-wa-ar*, IX, 3, 24; no equivalent.

*xa-me-al-ki(?) -u-wa-ar*, IV, rev. Bab. ?-u z-zu-ru(?).

*xa-an-da-u-wa-ar*, III, 12=Bab. *kunnû*=Sum. *gi-na* 'establish, care for.' This is probably *x-anda-uwar*. Cf. *anda sub* formative elements.

*xa-ni-šu-wa-ar*, VIII, 4: *ĜAR-ĜAR-aš xa-ni-šu-wa-ar*; Delitzsch: 'Mahlstein'?

*xa-pa-an-zu-wa-(ar)*, IX, 1, 13, preceded by neg. *u-ul*=Sum. *á-nu-gál* 'one who is not strong'=Bab. *dag(?) -lu*. It probably means 'strong, powerful,' as the synonyms are *lê'u*, *išānu*, *camdu*. Possibly the stem is *x-ap* as in *appa-tar* and *xapatiawar*. See also *alwanzatar*.

*xa-pa-ti-ia-wa-ar*, IX, 2, 36: *an-da xa-pa-ti-ia-wa-ar*=Sum. *gû-gil(gig)*=Bab. *mutikkû*. The synonyms are Bab. *munda xcu* 'warrior' (=H. *xapatiawar*, q.v.) and *xâbilu* 'robber,' so this must be a word of similar force. Probably contains *ap* of *appatar* and *xapanzuwar*.

*zar-na-an-za* (Delitzsch), but cf. 1, 17 where it is given as *zar-ra-an-za*. Which is the correct form? The Bab. is *zabru*=Sum. *lu ni-gul* 'what is bad.' MA, p. 275, gives *zabru* as a plant. In this sense it probably indicated a poisonous plant, as the Sum. *lu ni-gul* proves the meaning 'evil' for *zabru* here.

*zar-pa-na-al*, I, 19=Bab. *a-ia-bu* 'enemy.' Cf. *xartaiš*.

*za-ra-a-ú*, IX, 2, 15=Sum. *á-sal*=Bab. *iš(?) -pa-tum* 'quiver'(?). This is an equation unknown to me.

*zar-šá-la-an-za*, IX, 2, 42=Bab. *ibzu* 'angry'=Sum. *gû-bu*; 43=Bab. *šabzu* 'enraged'; 44=Bab. *ša-pa-a-šú* (*šabāsu*) 'be infuriated.' It probably occurs also in XI, rev. 11, (*zar*)-*šá-al-la-an-za*. Cf. *šá(?) a-an-za*; *uštaššan*.

*zar-ta-iš*, IX, 2, 31=Bab. *irritum*=Sum. *gû-dim(?) -a* 'curse.' Not in Vocabulary.

*zar-wa-a-ši-bi-e-da-an*, IX, 1, 37. No equivalent.

*zar-za-ki-u-wa-ar*, XI, rev. 6 probably=Bab. (*za-a-*)-*rum*. See *xûwarzakiiwar*.

*xi-xi-in(?) -ga-ni-ia-wa-ar*, IX, 3, 13=Sum. *gû-de*=Bab. *me-lu-ul-tum* 'rejoicing,' from *alálu*.

*zuiawar*, a presupposed form from *xu-u-i-ia-an* participial, Thompson, a, 7.

*xu-ul-xu-li-ia-wa-ar*, IX, 2, 35=Bab. *munda xcu* 'warrior'=Sum. *gû-gil(gig)*; synonym of *xapatiawar*.

*xu-u-ma-an*, IX, 2, 23=Bab. *ki-el-la-tum* 'entirety'=Sum. *gû*; also ditto plus horizontal double wedge; also Arzawa, a, 6, 7, 10; it evidently means 'entirely, completely'; Arzawa, a, 26: *xumân-da* 'plentifully.' Cf. also *Liverpool Annals*, III, Pl. XXVIII, no. viii. This is a synonym of *tarubbeššar* (q.v.).

*xu-uš-ki(?) -u-wa-ar*, X, obv. 20=Bab. *ka-ba(?) -u(?)*.

*xu-u-wa-ar-za-ki-u-wa-ar*, XI, 2, a Bab. equivalent ending in -rum (= *za-a-rum*?); synonym of *xarzakiuwar* (q.v.). Possibly this is cognate with *xuiawar*.

*xu-wa-ap-pa-dš*, I, 15=Bab. *lim nu* 'evil'=Sum. *lu ni-ğul* 'what is evil.'

## I

*i-da-lu-uš*=Bab. *ma-aš-ku*=Sum. *lu ni-ğul* 'what is evil,' a synonym of Bab. *lim nu* 'bad.' What is Bab. *mašku*? Cf. Delitzsch, *Sum. Lex.*, 216; synonym of *xullu* in *pû xullu* 'evil mouth'=*pû mašku*.

*id(?)da-an-za*=*daritum* 'eternity, continuity,' IX, 4, 42 (p. 24, bottom). Cf. IX, 43=Bab. *labtru* 'old.'

*i-ia-u-wa(-ar)*=Bab. *i-pi-šu* 'make, do.' This is one of the commonest formative elements in this language. Note the compounds: *kaniniauwar*=Bab. *ganašu*; *uešuri-iawar*=Bab. *xanaku*; *uišuri-iawar*=Bab. *cârû*; *malki-iawar*=Bab. *padanu*; *išxi-iawar*=Bab. *mâšu*; *karuši-iawar*; *aššanti-iawar*; *išbarri-iawar*; *meštû*; *xixingani-iawar*=Bab. *melultum*; *ganmani-iawar* 'sorrow'; *kururi(-iawar)*, Delitzsch, p. 37. Cf. *pauwar*.

*i-ia-zi*; seems to be a part of *iauwar* 'make, do.' See s.v. *arkuwar* especially, and s.v. *a-a-anza*.

*iš-bar-ri-ia-u-wa-ar*, IX, 5, 4=Bab. *meštû* and (5) *meltû* 'drunkard, drunk'; lit. 'one made (*iauwar*) drunk.'

*iš-xa-u-wa-ar*, IV, rev.; cf. IX, 2, 9. Obscure.

*iš-xa-a-dš*, II, rev. 8. No equivalent.

*iš-xi-ma-na-dš*, XI, 1; occurs in a mixed list without context with Bab. equivalent ending in -lum, perhaps *aš-lum* 'strong,' as this is the following Bab. word *aš-lum*=H. *šu-ma-an-za* 'strong.'

*i-ši-ax-xi-eš*, I, 12: *i-ši-ax-xi-eš ar-ku(?)aš*=Sum. *lu ni-al-di*=Bab. *ni-ir-tu(?)*, which latter word is obscure in this connection. The Sum. *lu ni-al-di* seems to mean 'one who offers resistance,' as *al-di*=*tukummu* 'resistance.' The Bab. *nirtu*, therefore, is probably a derivative from *nêru* 'strike,' and is the same *nirtu*, see *MA*, p. 721: 'slaughter, battle,' hence *arkuaš* must mean 'resistance.' The combination *išiaxzeš arkuaš* is followed by H. *mekki*, 1, 13, in which equation the Sum. *al-di* also occurs: *lu ni al-di-dirig-ga*=Bab. *ša ina nirti ma(?)a-û* 'who is frequent in battle.' *Arkuaš* is probably connected with *arkuwar* (q.v.). The stem *-iax-* apparently also appears in *ariaxeššar* and may mean 'to show, indicate,' so that *išiaxzeš arkuaš* probably signifies 'one who shows (*išiaxzeš*) resistance.' Cf. *ariaxeššar*.

*iš-ki-i-šá*, IX, 2, 30=Sum. *gu-tal*=Bab. *kutallu* 'storehouse.' Cf. IX, 3, 15: *iš-ki-šá-dš*=Sum. *gu(-tal?)*. Delitzsch renders 'Wand'='wall.'

*iš-šá-al-tu*, XI, rev. 9. No equivalent.

*iš-ta-mi-na-dš*, 7465, p. 8. No equivalent.

*iš-ta-ma(?)aš-šu-u-wa-ar*, XI, obv. 5=Bab. *u-te-ik-ku*; cf. IX, 4, 27=Bab. *i-ti-ik-ku*=in Sum. ditto-sign (upright) followed by *-dš*.

In XI, obv. 5, the word is preceded by *ellum* 'bright' = *arawaniš*; *tu'ām u* = *išuwaniḍwatar* (q.v.); *ašlum* = *šumānza*. These latter words must mean 'strong, powerful,' as this is clearly the sense of Bab. *ašlum*. On *tu'ām u* in this sense, see *išuwaniḍwatar*. With *ištamaš-šuwār*, cf. *ištumaššuwār*. The meaning is probably 'eponym' or 'official' of some sort, which, if correct, fixes a meaning for Bab. *utekku*, *itikku*.

*iš-la-na-na-āš* preceded by *GIŠ*, IX, 4, 20; Thompson, a, 13: *iš-la-na-ni-ia-āš*. Cf. *PSBA*, XXXII (1910), p. 192, Pl. XXV. Obscure.

*iš-la-an-ta-u-a(r)*, IX, 2, 55 = Bab. *uxxuru* (*muxxuru*) 'receive' = Sum. *gú-gá-gá* (probably). Note that Sum. *gú-gá-gá* = *ganāš u* (*kanāš u*) 'bow down' and *puxxuru* 'gather' = *anda-tarubbuar*. In *ištantawar*, we probably have the *anta* (*anda*)-insert (q.v.).

*iš-tu(?) -ma-āš-šú-wa-ar*, IX, 3, 52 = Bab. *ši-mu-u* = Sum. *si*. As this equation is preceded by *lamû*, *limittum*, *ganāš u* (*kanāš u*), *paxāru*, *šapāku*, *malû*, all equivalents of Sum. *si*, it is not probable that this is to be read *šimû*, but rather *limmû* (*lim-mu-u*) for *li'um* = 'eponymate, circuit,' but if it is *šimû*, it = *šimû* in the sense 'fate, fixed period,' or the like. I connect *ištumaššuwār* with *ištamaššuwār*, both of which seems to contain the root *m(w)aš*, seen in *wašši* = *še-im-tum* 'fate, something fixed.' Possibly H. *waššuwār* 'clothing' also belongs here, i.e., 'something developing or surrounding.' Probably a variant of *ištamaš-suwār*.

*i-šú-wa-ni-id-wa-tar*, XI, obv. 3, in connection with H. words meaning in Bab. *ašlum* 'strong,' *ellum* 'bright,' and *rubû* 'prince.' *išuwaniḍwatar* has the Bab. equation *tu'ām u* which ordinarily signifies 'twin,' but this can hardly be the case here. There is a Bab. stem *ta'ām u* 'rule, govern,' from which this *tu'ām u* may be a derivative and it may, therefore, mean 'powerful one, great one,' or the like. The ending *-watar* is the same element seen in *watarnaxxanza* and is probably factitive in sense. Of *iš-uwan-id*, the stem may be *uwa* + participial *-n*, preceded by *iš-* and followed by formative *-id*.

## K

*ka-la-ra-at-te-eš*, I, 11 = Sum. *lu ni-gál-gál* = Bab. *ša atrāti*; synonym of *š/sallaēš* = *ša rapāti* (*ša rabāti*) 'man of great deeds.'

*ka-ni-ni-ia-u-wa-ar*, IX, 2, 49 = Bab. *ganāš u* (*kanāš u*) = Sum. *gú-gar-gar*; also 51 and 53 = Sum. *gú-gá-gá*; IX, 3, 8, and 9 = Sum. *gú-ki-šú* and *gú-gar-gar* = Bab. *ganāš u* (*kanāš u*); 42-43 = Sum. *gú-gam* and *gú-gam-gam* = Bab. *ganāš u* (*kanāš u*); 48 = Sum. *si* = Bab. *ganāš u* (*kanāš u*) 'bend, turn.'

*kar-bi-eš-šar*, preceded by *KUR-āš*, IX, 3, 41 = Sum. *gú-si-kúr-(kúr)* = Bab. *napxar māti*, so that *KUR-āš karbeššar* must = 'all the lands,' or lit. 'the lands in entirety.' The element *kar* may be the same as that seen in *gan(kan)-an-da* (q.v.).

*ka-ri-wa-ri-wa-ar*, IX, 1, 20 (cf. 3, 21) = Sum. *á-gú-zi-ga-ra* = Bab. *šeri*, a parallel also found in Br. 6576 = 'morning.' In IX, 3, 21 the Bab. equivalent of *kariwariwar* ends in *-la-lu*, which probably denotes a Semitic loanword from Sumerian *ud-zal-la*, i.e., Bab. *u(d)-za-la-lu* 'daybreak.'

*ka-ru-uš-ši-ia-wa-ar*, 7453, 18 (p. 7, note); synonym of *<sup>1</sup>uKinirriláš* and *LU-áš se-ni-éš*.

*<sup>1</sup>uki-nir-ri-la-áš*, followed by horizontal double wedge, 7453, 17 (p. 7, note); synonym of *LU-áš seniaš* = Bab. ( )-*kar(?)*-*ru*. Cf. *karuš-šiawar*.

*ki-nu-un*, X, obv. 14 = Sum. *(i)-ne-šú* = Bab. *i-na-an-(na)* 'now' and also Bab. *inannâma* 'now,' p. 27; with double horizontal wedge.

*ki-eš-ki-iz-zi*, I, 14, preceded by *an-da* = Sum. *lu ni-šul-dim(?)*-*ma* = Bab. *mu-lam-mi libbi*, which should be *mulammîn*, the *-n* having been assimilated to the *l* of *libbi* (thus Delitzsch correctly) 'one who injures the heart.' The full phrase is H. *ŠA-gá(n) ku-iš an-da-ki-eš-ki-iz-zi* 'the heart, someone who (*kuiš*) injures it.' Cf. *an-da. keškizzi* is possibly cognate with *kizikuš* 'robber' (q.v.) and also *damešziš*.

*kizikuš*; cf. *damešziš*.

*ku-e-da-ni*: *ballanuš ku-e-da-ni*, IX, 2, 38 = Sum. *gú-šub-ba* = Bab. *a-xu na-tu-u (nadû)* which seems to mean 'lean down toward one side,' cf. *ballanaš*. Still, *kuedani* seems to be cognate with *ku-ul-ti bi-ra-an*, IX, 1, 33, which = Bab. *ša xátum* probably 'side' = Sum. *á-sud* 'far side' (?). Note also IX, 1, 32: *IM. TE še-a-uš ku-e-da-ni dan-na-ra* = Sum. *á-sud-sud* = Bab. *i-da-a-an ra-ka-a-tum* which also seems to mean 'far (*raqátum*) sides' (?). It seems evident then that *kuedani* contains the meaning 'side.' Cf. *ku-e-da-áš*, Arzawa, a, 17. Knudtzon translates this "why," evidently regarding it as a combination containing the probable pronominal *ku*; cf. *ku-iš* and *ku-id*. This does not agree with the foregoing equations. Note also *Liverpool Annals*, III, Pl. XXVIII, No. vii (?). Very obscure.

*ku-en-zu-um-na-áš*, III, 9 = Sum. *šu-uš-ša-a* and Bab. *mannášu* which is a word occurring only VR, 16, 27 (AV. 5064). The Sum. *šuššá* may mean 'overpower' or 'overthrow'; cf. *šu I*, Delitzsch, *Sum. Lex*.

*ku-id* = Sum. *(an)-na-an* = Bab. *mi-(nu)* 'how' and X, rev. 10 = Bab. *mâti* 'when'; cf. Delitzsch, p. 36. Note the combination *nu-ku-id*, which seems to mean Bab. *ana* + H. *kuid* = Bab. *ana mîni* 'why?' = *mâtma* and *ana mâti* X, rev. 11 (see p. 92). Note X, rev. 17: *ku-id ma-an* = Bab. *aru*, the meaning of which is unknown. The only thing clear is that *ku-id* like *ku-iš* (q.v.) shows the pronominal element *ku-* + the adv. *-id*.

*ku-iš* is probably the relative nominate with *-š*; *u-ul ku-iš walkiššaraš* 'not who is strong,' XI, 1, 10; cf. I, 2: *a-a-an-za ku-iš* 'a rival who'; also I, 3: *-ul-ta-ni-i-za ku-iš arkuwar natta iazi* = '*uttaniza* (?) who has no resistance,' and the same construction in I, 7 (see *arkuwar*); I, 14: *ŠA-gá(n) ku-iš an-da ki-eš-ki-iz-zi* 'someone who (*kuiš*) injures the heart' (see *kiš-kizzi*); IX, 1, 18: *UD.KAM.áš a-ni-ia-an ku-iš e-eš-šá-i* 'that which is

(*kuiš*) the daily *anian*' (q.v.); IX, 1, 39: *du-da-za ku-iš tur an-ka-ar-pa-an-šar-zi* (see *dudaza*).

*ku(?) -un-nu-war* = Sum. *si* = Bab. *malû* 'be full.' Note that in *bar-kunnuwar*, the latter element seems to be formative, but the combination is very unclear.

*ku-ru-ur* is another verb-formative seen in *ku-ru-ur ap-pa-tar*, XI, obv. 11, but in IX, 5, 2 we find: *ku-ru-ri-i(a-u-wa-ar?)* = Bab. *nakâru*, prob. = *naqaru* 'tear down' = Sum. *dag* II in *Sum. Lex*, so that *kurur appatar* is probably merely an emphasis of the idea 'seize with hostile intent.'

*ku-uš-du-wa-an-da(?) -u-wa-ar*, IX, 4, 3, is a synonym of *bugganza* 'hostile, enemy,' as both correspond to the same Sum. word obliterated.

*ku-ši-iz(?) -za* = Bab. *biblu* 'a bringing,' III, 17. Cf. *ubbišag(?)*.

*ku-uš-ša-an* is clearly a pronominal element with pronominal *ku+* formative 3 p. -š+ -an participial. It probably is not the same word as *kuššan* 'wage.' See *kuiš*; *kuid*.

*kuššan*, IX, 1, 23-31, clearly means 'wage': 23: *ku-uš-ša-ni-mi* = Sum. (*d*)-*mu-šú* = Bab. *ana itia*, 'for my wage'; 24: *ku-uš-ša-ni-ti* = Sum. (*d*)-*zu-šú* = Bab. *ana itika* 'for thy wage'; 25: *ku-uš-ša-ni-iš-ši* = Sum. (*d*)-*bi-šú* = Bab. *ana itišu* 'for his wage'; 26: *šú-ra-aš en-za-an ku-uš-ša-an* = Sum. (*d*)-*zu-šú-ne-a-aš* = Bab. *ana itikunu* 'for your wage'; 27: *a-bi en-za-an ku-uš-ša-an* = Sum. (*d*)-*bu-šú* = Bab. *ana itišunu* 'for their wage'; 28: *an-zi-el ku-uš-ša-an* = Sum. (*d*)-*mu-me-en* = Bab. *ana itini* 'for our wage'; 29: *MU.KAM.-aš ku-uš-ša-an* = Sum. (*d*)-*mu-bi-šú* = Bab. *ana iti šattišu* 'for his yearly wage'; 30: *ITU -(KAM?) -aš ku-uš-ša-an* = Sum. (*d*)-*itu-bi-šú* = Bab. *ana iti arxišu* 'for his monthly wage'; 31: *UD.KAM.-aš ku-uš-ša-an* = Sum. (*d*)-*ud-bi-šú* = Bab. *ana iti ūmišu* 'for his daily wage.' The dative element in the suffixes *mi-ti-ši* is apparently in the vowel *i*, but it does not appear in *kuššan*. See above, "Grammar."

*ku-ut-ti*, see *birdn*.

*ku-wa-bi-it-la(?)* with *ra-a-e-eš-šú-war* (q.v.), III, 16. = Bab. *mašâru* probably 'cut to pieces' (*MA*, 608, I).

## L

*la-a-xu-wa-ar*, IX, 3, 50 = Sum. *si* = Bab. *šapâku* 'heap up'; also IX, 4, 10. The only word beginning with *l*.

## M

*ma-al-ki-ia-wa-ar*, IX, 4, 46 = Bab. *patanu*; also IX, 4, 50. In the Vocab., Delitzsch gives erroneously the reference IX, 3, 46, 50. The adjoining word is H. *šippanduar* = Bab. *mekû*. If the Bab. *patanu* stands for *padanu* it means 'road,' but if it really is *patanu* it means 'feed, eat'(?). The probability is in favor of 'road'; cf. *še-ip-pa-an-du-ar*.

*me-ik-ki* I, obv. 13 = Bab. *ma(?) -a-û* (*ma'âdu*), as XI, obv. 15: *mekki* = Bab. *ma'dûtum* 'multitude' and *me-ik-ka-eš* (16) also = *ma'dûtum*. I see here the same stem, *me*, as in *dameda* (q.v.).

*mi-li-iš-ku-da*, IX, 1, 14 = Sum. *á-nu-(gdl)* 'one who is not strong' = Bab. ?-lu, perhaps *u-la-lu* 'weak.' The meaning seems clear. Note the formative *-kud*.

## N

*na-az-šá-ra-az*, 7453, 14 (p. 7, note) = Bab. *pal-xu* 'afraid.' See *walar-nazzanza*.

*na-at-ta* is probably the real H. negative, as it occurs I, 4/5; 6/7 evidently in this sense; *na-at-ta i-ia-zi* = Bab. *la iš ū* '(who) has not,' and *na-at-ta ša-?-ki* = *la id ū* '(who) knows not.' The usual negative is *u-ul*. See Delitzsch, p. 36.

*ne-wa-la-an-ša-dš-a-šá*, III, 7 = Sum. (*bar-ri*) = *pa-ri* = Bab. *bi-ir-tum*, which Delitzsch renders 'middle,' but cf. *MA*, 196 = 'fetter, bond.' Note that III, 6: Sum. (*bar*) *pa-ar* = Bab. *zitu(m)* (?) 'part,' but just below, Bab. *nakru* (8) 'enemy' occurs. This seems to imply that *newalanšaša* may have a bad signification, although it may really mean *birtum* 'middle' as Sum. *bar* indicates 'division' primarily.

*ni-šú-gi-an-za*, IX, 4, 44: Bab. *ši-e-bu* 'old man,' following an equation (43) *id(?)da-an-za* = *labiru* 'old.' Note that *šegganza* = 'strong.' Can the *ni-* in *nišugianza* be privative and the word mean 'one who is not strong,' hence 'old, feeble with age'?

*nuššan*, XII, a: *ŠE nu-uš-šá-an*, which must mean 'grain for him'(?), as *nu* is a formative element with the apparent sense 'unto.' See *nu* sub-formative elements, and see *enidian*.

## P

*pa-az-xi-eš-ki-u-wa-ar*, XI, rev. 3, Bab. *za(?a?)-a-u*, or perhaps *a-a-u*. The form is not *pazraš* as given by Delitzsch, *Vocab*(?). The Bab. equivalent is probably *zâ'u* as the following equation: *za-a-rum* = H. *kurur appatar* begins with *z*. Can this *zâ'u* be the verb 'tremble,' *MA*, 271? Or is it a bad writing for *zârû*? Cf. I, 13: Bab. *ma(?)a-u*, clearly for *ma'âdu*. Cf. *mekki*.

*pa-ra-gán pa-a-u-ar*, III, 6 = Sum. *bar (pa-ar)* = Bab. *zi-tu(m)* (?) probably = *zittu*, *MA*, 298: 'part'(?). Cf. *s.v. newalanšaša*.

*pa-ar-šú-uš KASKAL-dš*, III, 14 = Bab. *alkakatum* 'going' (noun). Note that in III, 13 the preceding line *KASKAL-dš* = Bab. *alakatum* 'the act of going.' The addition of *paršuš* here makes the shade of meaning between *alakatum* 'the act of going' and *alkakatum* 'the act of going continuously.' Possibly *paršuš* denotes continuity(?). Delitzsch gives this form erroneously as *panšuš*.

*pa-dš-ga-u-wa-ar*, IX, 4, 25 = Bab. *zaqâpu* 'erect' and plus the double horizontal wedge in 27 = *ziqiptum* 'pole, stake.'

*pa-a-uar*, a formative element seen in connection with *paragán* and *gaim-pauwar*. This is probably composed of participial or factitive *p+* + *iawwar* 'do, make.'

## S

*seniaš*; *LU-dš se-ni-dš*, 7453, 16-17 (p. 7, note), a synonym of *ʾukinir-ri-laš* = Bab. ( ) -*kar*(?) -*ru*.

## š

*ša*(?) -*a-an-za*, IX, 2, 40: Sum. *gú-šub-ba* = Bab. *zé-nu-ú* which seems to mean 'be angry,' but note that Sum. *gú-šub-ba* also = Bab. *capâtum* (*cabâtum*) 'seize' = H. *appatar* (q.v.). If *ša*(?) -*a-an-za* really signifies 'be angry,' it is probably cognate with *šallanza* in *xaršallanza* (q.v.).

*š/sak-ki-an-za*, IX, 2, 18: Sum. *gú* = Bab. *pu-tum* (*du*?) 'front'; also IX, 4, 30.

*š/sal-bi-iš*, XI, obv. 10 = Bab. *zi-in-xu*, which may be a word denoting violence, as in the same list occurs *zakkar* = Bab. *zu-u*. The Sum. is obliterated.

*š/sal-la-e-eš*, I, 10; Sum. *lu ni-gál-gál* 'one who is great' = Bab. *ša ra-pa-a-ti* (*ša rabâti*); cf. Delitzsch, p. 10; an expression like נפלאות. Cf. *šallauwar* and note what is apparently the abstract ending -*eš*.

*š/sal-la-uwa-ar*, XI, rev. 5: Bab. *za-ra-ru-u*, probably = *carâru*. Cf. *kurur appatar* = *zârum* and *uišuriwar* = *cârû*. Cf. also *šallaeš*.

*š/sal-šú-i*, IX, 4, 25: Bab. *rapâdu* 'be spread out.'

*šangariš*, 7763(?).

*š/sar-ku-uš*, IX, 2, 26: Sum. *gú-tug* = Bab. *ašaredum* 'leader'; the Sum. *gú-tug* also = *kitmalu* (*gitmalu*), IX, 2, 25. Cf. *abalšaza*.

*še-ig-gán-za*, preceded by *ù-ul*, IX, 1, 11 = Sm. *á-nu-gál* 'one not strong' = Bab. (*la-*) *a išânú*. Cf. *walkiššaraš* and *turianza*.

*še-lu*(?) -*wa-ar*, IX, 5, 3 = Bab. *ša-ta-tum* (*šadâdu*) 'drag, pull.'

*še-ip-pa-an-du-ar*, IX, 4, 45: Sum. *da-ri-an-ši* = Bab. *ma-ku-u* which probably means 'inclosure,' *MA*, 535, especially as the next word is Bab. *padanu* 'road.' Cf. *malkiauwar*.

*ši-e-it-ti-iš*, IX, 3, 22; unknown. The adjoining words are *xalluauwar* and *kariwariwar*.

*šú-ma*(?) -*a-an-za*, XI, obv. 2 = Bab. *aš-lum* 'strong.'

*šú-ra-dš en-za-an ku-uš-šd-an* = Sum. *á-zu-šú-ne-a-dš* = Bab. *ana itiku nu* 'for your wage.' This seems to be a 2 p. pl., of which *šuraš* appears to be the pronominal and *enzan* the (pronominal?) plural. Note, however, that *šú-u-ra-dš* occurs, Thompson, a, 9 and 13, preceded by *NITA*, 'servant' as a determinative, or possibly qualifying *šuraš*(?). That *šuraš* is a second personal element there seems to be little doubt.

## T

*tam*(?) -*bu-bi-iš*, I, 9: Sum. *lú gat-tar* = Bab. *nu'u*, and I, 8: Sum. *lù dš-gab* = Bab. *nu'u* which seems to mean 'useless, no good.' A doubtful word, as the reading may be *nin-bubiš* (Delitzsch).

*ta-ri-ia-dš-xa-dš*, IX, 1, 19: Sum. *á-gú-šú*=Bab. *ma-na-ax-tum*, which Delitzsch renders '*Versorgung*,' but it more probably means 'resting-place, depôt.' Cf. *tarubbuar*.

*ta-aš*=pronoun(?), Thompson, a, 8, 12.

*tarnuwar*: *EGIR-pa tar-nu-war*, X, 1, 18, Bab. *bedû* (*pidû*) 'loosen, set free.' Note that *ud-da-ni-id an-da-tar-nu-war*=Sum. *šu*=Bab. *šurrû* 'loosen,' III, 10. Cf. *arnuwar*.

*tar-pa-al-li-iš*, IX, 4, 28: Bab. *sinanû*; is this *šin-na-nu* seen in *qanû šinnanû* 'toothed(?) cane,' *PSBA*, XVI, 308-9?

*tarubbuar*, IX, 2, 55: *an-da ta-ru-ub-bu-ar*=Sum. (*gú-gá-gá*)=Bab. *puxxuru* 'collect'; IX, 2, 52: Sum. *gú-gar-gar*=Bab. *puxxuru*; IX, 3, 49: Sum. *si*=Bab. *paxâru* 'gather, collect.' It occurs in XIII, 1, 5 without equivalent. *Ta-ru-ub-bi-eš-šar*, IX, 2, 21, and 22=Sum. *gú* and *gú-si* and Bab. *naxxaru*, from *paxâru*= 'entirety, whole.' This is a synonym of *xumân* (q.v.).

*ta-at-la-lu-uš-ki*(?)*-u-wa-ar*=Bab. *bedû* (*pidû*) 'loosen, set free.' Cf. *tarnuwar*.

*ti-a-la-u(-wa-ar)*, IX, 3, 55: Sum. (*si*)=Bab. *aramu* 'rampart' or 'ram' (Knudtzon).

*tu-uz-šá-dš*, 7453, 13 (p. 7, note)=Bab. *kusarikku*, which is a word indicating the ram in the zodiac. Note that the same ideogram=*ditanu*, *šarru*, *kabtum*. I am inclined to see in this word the same root as in *antuxšatar* 'mankind,' i.e., 'the noble, strong one(s).'

*tur*, IX, 1, 39: *du-da-za ku-iš tur an-ka-ar-pa-an-ğar-zi*. See *s.v. ankar-pağarzi* and *dudaza*. Is this *tur* 'mighty, strong,' the same stem seen in *turianza*?

*turianza*; *ú-ul tu-ri-an-za*, IX, 1, 12=Sum. *á-(nu-gál)* 'one not strong'=Bab. (*la-a*) *camdu* 'not firm.' See *tur*.

*tu-u-wa*(?)*-ad*( ), II, rev. 16=Bab. *ru-ú-ku*(?) 'distant, far'(?). Note *s.v. dannara*.

## U

*u-an-ki*, IX, 1, 40; no equivalent; IX, 4, 33=Bab. ( )*-ra-a-du*; is this *arâdu* 'go down'?

*ub-bi-iš-šag*(?), III, 18=Bab. *šubultum* 'increase' (noun). Note that this word is preceded (17) by Bab. *biblu* 'bringing' and is followed by Bab. (19) *tarxatum*=*terxatum* 'marriage gift.' I see here the same stem *ub* as in *tarubbuar*.

*ud-da-ni-id*, III, 10, followed by *anda-tarnuwar* (q.v.). Is this word connected with ( )*-ut-ta-ni-iza* of I, 5; 7 (see *s.v. arkuwar*)? It seems clear that the *-id* is the same probably adverbial element seen in *ku-id*.

*ue-ri-le-* is an element beginning H. words denoting 'fear,' II, obv. 9, 14 (see Delitzsch, p. 11).



*ú-e-si-iš*, XI, obv. 14: = Bab. *re-du-u*, evidently 'driver' as the preceding word *SIB* is equated with *rê'u* 'shepherd.' *appatar* 'seize' also seems to be connected in meaning by the scribe, line 11: *cabâtum*.

*ú-e-šú-ri-ia-an*, IX, 2, 45 = Sum. *gú-bu* = Bab. *xa-an-ku*, a word of unknown meaning, but Sum. *gú-bu* = Bab. *ibzu* and *šabzu* 'angry, enraged,' so that *xan-ku* probably denotes a similar idea. Cf. just below, for cognate forms.

*ú-e-šú-ri-wa-ar*, IX, 11, 46: Sum. *gú-bu* = Bab. *xanâku*; cf. above, s.v. *ú-e-šú-ri-ia-an*. *ú-e-šú-ri-wa-ar*, IX, 2, 32 = Sum. *gú-ré(?) -gú(?)* = Bab. *cârû (zârû)*; also *ú-i-šú-ri-iš ka-tal-la-áš (gatallaš)*, 33 = Sum. *gú-dú* = Bab. *cârû (zârû)* and 47 = Sum. *gú-bu* = Bab. *xitnuku* and 48: Sum. *gú-bu* = *xitnuzu*. This is the same *gatalla* seen in *xalugatallaš* and is probably factitive. Note that *kurur appatar* = *zârû* also, so that these stems indicate hostile action of some sort.

*ú-iz-za-pa-a-an*, IX, 4, 43 = Bab. *labtru* 'old,' followed by *nišugianza* = Bab. *šêbu* 'old man.'

*uštaššan*, X, obv. 13: *uš(?) -la-áš-šá-an ar-nu-war* = *uzzuzu* 'be angry.' The stem *ša+n* is probably the same as that seen in *ša-a-an-za* and *zaršal-lanza*.

*ú-ul* 'not' occurs *passim*. This is clearly the Bab. negative, borrowed in Semitic like the Bab. *lâ*, which occurs in Sumerian (Prince, *AJSL*, XXIV, 359).

## W

*waznuwar*, XI, obv. 21: *EGIR-pa wa-az-nu-war(?)* = Bab. *?-ia-ru* 'surround'; IX, 3, 47: *a-ra-ax-a-an-ta wa-az-nu-war* = Sum. *si* = Bab. *limêtum* 'circumference, inclosure, limit.'

*wa-al-ki-iš-šá-ra-áš*, IX, 1, 2, 4, 5, 10; in each case = Sum. *á-gál* = Bab. *lê'u* 'strong.' In 6, however, we have *GUN walkiššaraš*, the fem. Bab. *le-e-tum*, where the preceding ideogram *GUN* represents the H. fem. prefix. In IX, 1, 10: *ú-ul ku-iš wa-al-kiš-šá-ra-áš* = Sum. *á-nu-gál* = Bab. *(la-a le)-' -u-ú* 'not strong.' Note that the word is spelled *wa-al-kiš-šá-ra-áš* in IX, 1, 4, 5, 6. Is this the same root *wal* seen in *zabbuwalašzaš*?

*wa-ar-ši-*( ), II, rev. 12: Bab. *ba-šu-u* 'to be.' Clearly connected with the other elements of the verb to be: *e-eš-šá-i*, *e-eš-tu*, *eš-šu-wa-ar*.

*wa-áš-ši*, IX, 4, 29 = Bab. *še-im-tum*, probably 'fate.' Cf. *ištumaš-šuwar* and *waššuwar*.

*wa-áš-šú-u-wa-ar*, XI, obv. 7 = Bab. *lu-bu-uš-tum* 'clothing.' This may contain the same root *m(w)aš* 'surround,' seen in *istumaššuwar* and *wašši*.

*wa-tar-na-ax-za-an-za*, IX, 1, 17 = Sum. *á-àg-gá(gán)* = Bab. *mu-u-e-ru* 'commander,' cf. IX, 1, 3: *watarnazzanza* = Sum. *á-gál* 'one who is strong' (Bab. obliterated). This probably shows the same root as *nazšaraz* 'afraid, fearful.' It is a synonym of *walkiššaraš* and *zad/treššár*. See *watar*, formative element.

## Z

*za-ak-kar*, XI, obv. 9: Sum. *du-gul-?* = Bab. *zu-u*. Note that Sum. *gul* = destruction, as *šu-gul-la* 'strike,' Delitzsch, *Sum. Lex.*, 109, which seems to fix the sense of Bab. *zû* as being identical with *zû* 'storm.' Cf. *šalbiš*. Is there a key to the meaning of the god-name *Zakkar* in this word? It is true that the Babylonians punned on this name by the equation *AN-ZAK-KAR* = *dīmtu* 'pillar, pinnacle,' which was, no doubt, simply suggested by the Sem. *zaqru* 'lofty, pointed, high.' *Zakkar* himself, however, may have been of foreign (Hittite) origin, although he was closely connected with *Bēlit* (*Ninni*) and was honored by King *Samsu-iluna* who built a wall of *Zakkar* at *Nippur* (Prince, *AJSL*, XXIX, 287).

*zi-an-tar-na-an-za*, IX, 2, 27: Sum. *gû-zal* = Bab. *xi-iz-zi-tum* of doubtful meaning. Note that Sum. *gû-za-lá* = *gû-zal* 'evil' Delitzsch, *Sum. Lex.*, 112, so that *ziantarnanza* must have a bad meaning.

*zi-in-nu*( ), II, rev. 10 = Bab. (ga?)-ma-a-ru 'complete'; synonym of *abalšaza* = *kitmalu* (*gitmalu*) 'perfect.'

# ASSYR. *ramku*, "PRIEST" = HEB. *komer*

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According to GB<sup>1</sup> the etymology of Heb. *komer*, "idol-priest," is unknown, but this word is evidently identical with Assy. *ramku*, "priest." For the transposition cf. Assy. *dišpu*, "honey" = Heb. דִּשְׁפָּא; *lazru*, "ewe" = רֹחֵל; *diqaru*, "pot" = קִדְר (ZAT, XXIX, 281, n. 4). Also Assy. *karpātu*, "vessel," is the Syr. ܩܪܦܬܐ; this, however, does not denote an "earthen vessel" or "crock," but a vessel of basket-work made water-tight with bitumen, الباطية من الليف المقيرة; it is connected with ܦܦܪ, "asphalt"; see BL, 129; EB<sup>11</sup>, III, 481b; cf. Exod. 2:3 and the picture facing p. 14 of Kaulen's *Assyr. und Bab.*<sup>5</sup>. Similarly Heb. סִמֵּל seems to be the Assy. *lamassu*, "colossal bull"; Heb. רִקְקָה, "strength" (with ר for ש as in the *nota accusativi* רִשָּׁא = יִשָּׁא; cf. JAOS, XXVIII, 113, below; contrast ZDMG, LXVIII, 370) is the Assy. *pušqu*. Assy. *retû*, "to erect, set up" (Eth. *artē'a*) is the Arab. عتري إذا اعطى. Assy. *karmu*, "heap," syn. šûlû, "raised, piled up" (in *ana tîlê u karmê utîr*, "I reduced to mounds and heaps") appears in Arabic as *rakâm* (Eth. *kemr*, plur. *akmâr*) and Assy. *tarâku*, or rather *tarâqu*, "to break, part asunder, to be rent or torn," is found in the Qêrê of Eccles. 12:6 as יִרְחַק (= Assy. *ittariq*) which is an older form of יִנְחַק with change of *r* to *n* as in נִשְׂרָה, "creditor" = Assy. *râšû* or

<sup>1</sup> AG<sup>2</sup> = Delitzsch, *Assyr. Grammatik*. AJSL = *American Journal of Semitic Languages*. AL = Delitzsch, *Assyr. Lesestücke*. BDB = F. Brown, *Heb. Lexicon*. BL = Haupt, *Bibl. Liebeslieder*. EB<sup>11</sup> = *Encyclopædia Britannica*. GB = Gesenius-Buhl, *Hebr. Handwörterbuch*. GJV = Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*. GK = Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebr. Grammatik*. HW = Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handwörterbuch*. ICC = *International Critical Commentary*. JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. JBL = *Journal of Biblical Literature*. JHUC = *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*. KB = Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*. OLZ = *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*. SBOT = Haupt, *The Sacred Books of the Old Testament*. WF = *Wellhausen-Festschrift* (Giessen, 1914). ZAT = *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*. ZDMG = *Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*. Kings, Ezekiel = *Critical Notes on Kings and Ezekiel in SBOT*. G = Greek Bible. V = Vaticanus. L = Lucianic recension. S = Syriac Bible. T = Targum. J = Jerome's Vulgate. Cf. AJSL, XXVI, 204; ZDMG, LXIII, 530.

Arab. *na'ib*, "attorney" = Heb. נָאִיב (ZDMG, LXIII, 517, l. 14; *AJSL*, XXVI, 19, l. 9). Arab. تَقَّى has the privative (ZDMG, LXIV, 704, 711) meaning "to mend" rents; cf. the denominative Heb. verb בָּרַק and *AJSL*, XXVI, 241, n. \*. [See now *GB*<sup>16</sup> sub נָאִיב and תָּקַה, p. xvii, ad p. 350; p. xix, ad p. 776.]

Assyr. *ramku*, "priest," does not mean *libator* (Zimmern, *Bab. Rel.*, 76) but *lustrator* (see *op. cit.*, 113, 224b). *Lustrare* is connected with *lavare*. Dr. Schrank in his dissertation *Priester und Büsser in babylonischen Sühnriten* (Leipzig, 1907), p. 3, follows Jensen (*KB*, VI, 368) in explaining *ramku* as "washed, cleansed, purified." *AL*<sup>1</sup> (1912) still adheres to the rendering "to libate." The original meaning is "to water," which may mean "to put water into" or "upon," i.e., "to irrigate, soak, wash, remove by ablution, purify," and "to give to drink." The stem נָקַה, which we have also in the original form of the name of Damascus, *Dār-mašqā* (*AJSL*, XXVI, 26) = "settlement in a well-watered region," may be connected (cf. *AJSL*, XXIII, 248) with נָקַה נֵיִם; cf. Syr. קְבִיטָא, "reservoir," and קְבִיטָא which is used also of water for rinsing the mouth. In Assyrian we have *qābu* (for *qabīu*), "reservoir, trench" (*HW*, 577a).

In Arabic we find this *ramāku* = *kamāru* in the form *mākara* = *adqā*, "to irrigate." Arab. *ramaka* has the meaning "to halt" in order to water the camels, but the original meaning is simply "to water." Arab. *anhalā*, "to water," on the other hand, means originally "to halt" (*AJSL*, XXII, 198; *ZAT*, XXIX, 286, n. 5). In Assyrian we find, not only *ramāku* and *kamāru*, but also *mākāru* (*HW*, 622, 337, 408). All three stems mean "to water." In II Kings 12:6, 8 נָפַר (see *GB*<sup>16</sup>, s.v.) means "donor," Lat. *largitor*. The objection raised by König in his *Wörterbuch*, that the suffixes in נָפַר and נָפַר־כֶּסֶם militate against my explanation, is gratuitous; we may safely translate II Kings 12:8: "Ye shall no longer take [i.e., "appropriate," "get for your own use"] the money [received] from your donors" (or "benefactors"). Nor is Šanda's criticism (in his commentary on Kings) valid.

*Mākāru* is the original form of the stem (*AJSL*, XXIII, 247), whereas *ramāku* and *kamāru* are transposed doublets (*WF*, 220, vi, l. 7). Even נָפַר, "stud," means originally "watering-place"; horses must be watered every day, whereas camels may go without water

for four or five days; see my paper on the "City of Asses" (Assyr. *dlu ša imêrêšu*) in *ZDMG*, LXIX. "Stud" and "steed," as well as German *Stute*, "mare," are originally identical; a "steed" is a "stud-horse." The term "stud" means originally "stand"; it is derived from the root *sta-*, "to stand." In German, *Stand* is the common term for a stall in a stable; a box-stall is a *Kastenstand*. Lithuanian *stodas* denotes a "drove of horses," just as Syr. ܪܡܬܐ has this meaning, whereas ܪܡܝܬ in Hebrew means "stud," and Arab. *rámakah* denotes a "mare" (*AJSL*, XXIV, 158). For the connection between studs and water cf. Strabo, 212, 752. In Arabic, ڤيبة is an "inclosure" or "pen" for animals (cf. *AJSL*, XXVII, 46, n. 13), whereas ܡܙܪܒ is a "conduit" or "canal," lit. a place where water runs (ܡܙܪܒ = ܡܙܪܒ).

The cuneiform *kumîrtu* (see *GB*<sup>15</sup>, s.v. ܦܡܪ) which Assurbanipal uses of an Arabian priestess (cf. Syr. ܡܡܪܬܐ, "priestess"; ܡܡܪܬ, "vestal virgin") points to a form *kumêru* = *kumâru*, just as *imêru*, "ass" = *imâru*. We have the same vocalic assimilation (amalgamation) in *šurmênu*, "cypress" = *šurmânu*; *kušêru*, "fitness" = *kušâru*; *unêqu*, "kid" = *unâqu*, Arab. ܡܢܐܢܐ; *unnênu*, "prayer" = *hunnânu*; cf. ܡܢܐܢܐ; see *Kings*, 121, 13; 262, \*\*. We may point ܦܡܪܝܡ (cf. ܡܡܪܝܡ in II Kings 23:5) instead of ܦܡܪܝܡ (*GK*<sup>28</sup>, 93, r) and this diminutive (*Ezekiel*, 64, 36) may be contemptuous ("priestling"). Also ܡܠܚܡܐ, "gloom," should be pointed ܡܠܚܡܐ (*WF*, 221, below).

There is no connection between ܦܡܪ, "priestling," and ܡܡܪ, "to be dark"; but Eth. *kêramt*, "winter," means originally the "dark season" (contrast *AJSL*, XXIII, 247).<sup>1</sup> In Syriac the month of Shebat is called (ܡܠܚܡܐ ܡܡܪܝܢܐ), "the gloomy month" (which makes everything gloomy). Esarhaddon (*AL*<sup>5</sup>, 79, 14; cf. *OLZ*, XVII, 344) refers to the snow, cold, and severity of the frost in the month of Shebat (*šalgu, qûçu, dannat zalpt*). It might be well to add that Assyr. *qûçu*, "cold," is the Heb. ܦܚܐ, "heat, summer," just as Greek *καύμα*, "summer-heat," is used of extreme cold. Lat. *pruina* means "hoar-frost, snow, winter," whereas *pruna* denotes a "live coal." Extreme heat and cold produce similar sensations: *les*

<sup>1</sup> Šanda's explanation (following Dav. Mill and Rosenmüller; cf. Nowack's *Hosea*, 1880, p. 184) that Heb. *komer* = *kāmīru*, "burner, kindler" (see his commentary on *Kings*, 1912, II, 341), is untenable.

*extrêmes se touchent.* Milton (*Par. Lost*, II, 595) says, "Cold performs the effect of fire." Arab. شفيف is used of the effect of both heat and cold. Assy. *ku-uç-çu* must be read *qûçu*, which stands for *quîiûçu* (cf. *tûbu* = *tuiiûbu*, *nûxu* = *nuuûuxu*). The readings *kunnu*, *turru* (*AL*<sup>5</sup>, ix; *AG*<sup>2</sup>, p. 328) instead of *kûnu*, *tûru* are incorrect. The adjective *qâçû* is a form like *mazrû*, "first"; *dârû*, "everlasting" (*AJSL*, I, 179, n. 4), or قيطى. The noun *taqçâtû*, on the other hand, must be derived from a stem קצץ. *Xalpû*, "frost" (stem חלה), means literally "covering" (of ice-needles). Also Heb. כפֿור, "hoar-frost, rime," has the same primary connotation (*BL*, 127, below). *Dannatu*, "severity," lit. "strength" (شدّة), is connected with Syr. ܕܢܬܐ, "thick branch," "big stick." The stem ܕܢܐ, "to judge," might mean originally "to exercise power" (حكم) but *dîn*, "law" (and "religion"), is ultimately Sumerian; see *ZDMG*, LXIII, 513, n. 5; Nöldeke, *Beitr. z. semit. Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 41, n. 2; *Neue Beitr.*, p. 39; Delitzsch, *Sumer. Glossar*, p. 134; Zimmern, *Akkad. Fremdwörter*, p. 24.

Bezold, *Orient. Diplom.*, 92, combined Assy. *kamiru* in the Amarna tablets (Knudtzon, p. 1434) with Syr. ܕܡܪܐ = Heb. זמר, but Peiser (cited in Muss-Arnolt) was right in explaining *kamir* as "eunuch." We must not read *kâmiru*, but *kamîru*, "emasculated," a privative passive participle of ܕܡܪܐ, "to be virile," from which we have مكمورة, lit. "a woman who has been manned," i.e., who has had carnal knowledge of man. Similarly the original meaning of זמר is "twig, branch, yard," which is used also (like καυλός) for the "virile member," זמררה; but Arab. *zámira* means "to be unmanly" (قليل) just as Heb. זמר means "to prune" (Arab. نقى), i.e., "to lop off twigs" or "branches" (*AJSL*, XXVI, 2).

Heb. זמר = Assy. *ramku* occurs, not only in II Kings 23:5; Hos. 10:5; Zeph. 1:4, but also in Hos. 4:4 where we must read כָּהֵם כְּזִמְרִים, "Like people, like priesthood; like prophets, like Aaronites," i.e., the priestlings of Baal will fare like the people, and the so-called priests of JHVH like the prophets. For the repetition of כ see *BDB*, 454a, below; *GB*<sup>15</sup>, 327a, 4; *GK*<sup>28</sup>, § 161, c; cf. Koran 2:16: مثلهم كمثل الذي استوقد ناراً. The suggestion that the affixed

כ of עמך should be prefixed to the following כמר of כמריבי was made by Beck (quoted in Wünsche's commentary) who proposed to read כמריי כעמי, "and my people (ὁ ὁ λαός μου) are like their priests," whereas the conjecture that יבי in כמריבי represents a corruption of נביא was advanced by Duhm (*ZAT*, XXXI, 20, below; cf. Marti's commentary, p. 40). But כעם כפמר כנביא ככהן is preferable to Duhm's ועם כמרים ונביא ככהן, although Duhm's restoration is superior to the other emendations of this *crux interpretum*, e.g., Michaelis' כהן כמריבי כהן, "Thy people are like my adversaries, O priest"; Heilprin: ועמד כמריביו הפהן, "Thy people are like its accusers, O priest"; W. R. Smith: כהן כהן, "Thy people have rebelled against me, O priest"; Oort: ועמד ריבי, "With thee is my strife, O priest"; Mosapp (*ZAT*, V, 185): והכהן, "Thy people idolatrize like their priestery"; Ruben: כמך, "and my people are like thee"; Bewer (*JBL*, XXI, 111): ועמד מריב כן, "Thy people is namely striving thus"; Riessler (cf. *JBL*, XXXII, 111, n. 13): עם כרפם, "The people of the Lord, the more they increased." Peiser, *Hosea* (Leipzig, 1914), p. 33, note bb, thinks that כמריבי may be a gloss to 8:12, where he reads instead of רב תורתי ואכתב-לו, "I wrote for her many instructions, they were deemed alien": כחובל מריבי נחשבו, "My accusers were regarded like Tubal."<sup>1</sup>

Hos. 4:4 is not Hoseanic; on the other hand, the hemistich in vs. 9a, והיה כעם ככהן, "Like the people the priest will fare," is genuine. The entire section 4:1-5 is secondary;<sup>2</sup> it consists of two five-line stanzas with 2+2 beats, whereas the genuine poems in chaps. 4-6 are written in triplets with 3+3 beats. Chap. 6 contains nothing but glosses, just as chap. 3 consists of secondary and tertiary

<sup>1</sup> Peiser's reconstruction of the Book of Hosea is impossible, just as impossible as his reconstruction of Ps. 16 in *OLZ*, XIII, 6 (contrast the reconstruction in *JAOS*, XXXII, 124). Peiser does not seem to know the literature on the OT; otherwise he would not have stated in his preface that (apart from the study of the Ancient Versions) the OT had not been treated from a purely philological point of view, and that his *Habakkuk*, published in 1903, was the first attempt to reconstruct a complete text with exclusion of glosses. My reconstruction of the closing section of *Ecclesiastes* was published (June, 1891) in *JHUC*, No. 90; the first part of *SBOT* was issued in 1893; my critical edition of the Hebrew text of Canticles appeared in 1902 (reprinted from *AJSL*, XVIII, 193-245; XIX, 1-32; July and October, 1902).

<sup>2</sup> Contrast Grossmann-Gunkel's *AT*, parts 6-7 (Göttingen, 1910), p. 366.

additions (cf. my paper on "Hosea's Erring Spouse" in *JBL*, XXXIV). Chap. 5 should precede chap. 4, just as chap. 8 must be prefixed to chap. 7. Similarly the first section of Joel's ancient poem on the locusts appears in chap. 2 of that Maccabean homily, whereas the second section is contained in chap. 1; see my translation in *ΞΕΝΙΑ* (Athens, 1912), p. 389; cf. *AJSL*, XXVII, 43, n. 1, and my reconstruction of the Hebrew text in *The Boston Jewish Voice*, November 14 and 28, 1913.

The last two triplets (vii and viii) of the genuine Hoseanic poem in chaps. 4-6 should be read as follows:

וּמַעֲלִי אֲשִׁיבֶלּוּ :	וְהִידָּה כָּעַם כְּכֹהֵן :	4:9
וְאִמְאָסָךְ אֲנִי מִכְּהֵן-לִי	כִּי-אֶתְּהָה הִדְעָה מֵאֶסָּה	6b
וְאִשְׁכָּה בְּיָד גַּם-אֲנִי :	וְתִשְׁכַּח תּוֹרַת אֱלֹהֶיךָ	
וְכָלֹתֶיכֶם תִּנְאֲפָנָה :	יִתְחַזְּקֶנָּה בְּקוֹתֶיכֶם	13b
וְהִזְקֵנִי וְלֹא יִפְרָצוּ :	וְאֶכְלֹךְ וְלֹא יִשְׁבְּעֵנִי	10a
וְיִבְשׁוּ מִמִּזְבְּחֹתֶיכֶם :	וְצִרְיֹתֶיךָ אוֹתָם בְּכִנְפֵיהֶם	19

4:14b (a) רָעַם לֹא-יִבְיֵן יִלְבֵּט      9 (β) וּפְקֻדָּתִי עָלָיו דְּרָקִיו      13 (γ) עַל כֵּן  
14a (δ) לֹא-אֶפְקֹד עַל-בְּנוֹתֶיכֶם כִּי-תִחַזְּקֶנָּה וְעַל-כָּלֹתֶיכֶם כִּי-תִנְאֲפָנָה

For מִכְּהֵן-לִי, at the end of the second line, point מִכְּהֵן-לִי; cf. *GK*<sup>2</sup>, § 119, x. Similar constructions are found in Syriac, e.g., אֲשִׁיבֶלּוּ מִן דְּלִבְמִקְבֵּר, "they were so tired that they could not bury [the dead]." Cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*<sup>2</sup>, § 249, E; Duval, § 366, d. For the first line of the second triplet cf. Lev. 21:9; 20:10, 12.

The second hemistich of the following line means literally "They will be caused to fornicate, but they will not penetrate," i.e., when they desire to have sexual intercourse, they will be impotent to perform the act. Luther rendered correctly, "Es soll ihnen nicht gelingen," which reminds me of the parody of the participial constructions of the old king of Bavaria, Ludwig I (1825-48): "Ob der schönen Lola Montez, niemals habend selbst gekonnt es." Ἡ ἐπὶ ὁρνεύσαν καὶ οὐ μὴ κατενέστωσαν has the same meaning. Ἡ may have read יִתְרָצוּ (Oort). This, however, must not be derived from רִצְיָה; the



Hithpael in I Sam. 29:4, **במה יחרצה זה על אדניו**, "Whereby can he ingratiate himself with his master?" has an entirely different meaning; it is not equivalent to **ارضى** (او ارضى) **اهواءه**; cf. Syr. **ܐܚܪܥܝ** **ܥܠ** (ܥܡ), "to be reconciled," Arab. **تراضى**. The reading **יחרצו** must be derived from **חרץ**, "to make straight or erect"; Syr. **ܐܚܪܥܝ** means "to stand erect." **κατερθύνειν** is the exact equivalent of **חרץ**; it means also (like **חרץ**) "to steer" a ship; cf. Assy. **tarāṣu**, "to stretch, straighten, direct" (**tarāṣu ša pāni**=Syr. **חרץ חירא**, "to direct the gaze"). Arab. **قرص** means "to be strong and firm," originally "straight, erect, rigid, stiff, tight, tense, taut" (**قوى وحكم**). Some Hebraists seem to have confounded **εὐθύνειν** with **εὐθυμεῖσθαι**. While **Θ** may have read **יחרצו**, I believe that **יפרכו** is the original reading. Penetration may denote intromission of the intromittent organ;<sup>1</sup> *EB*<sup>11</sup>, XVIII, 27a, below, states, "According to English law the slightest degree of penetration is sufficient to constitute the crime of rape." For **הָזְנוּ** we must read the passive **הִזְנוּ** (the omission of the prefixed **ל** is due to haplography). Also in vs. 18 we must read the Hophal: **הָזְנוּ מֵאַחֲרַי אֲהֲבֵי קִלְיוֹן**, "They are wanton [lit. "have been made wanton"] and depart from me, preferring disgrace to their glory" (idolatry to true religion). The preposition **מֵאַחֲרַי** (cf. 1:2) appears in the received text after **אֲהֲבֵי** in the corrupt form **הֲבֵי**. Similarly we must read in the gloss 5:3b: **כִּי־אַתָּה הִזְנוֹת אֶפְרַיִם נִטְמָא בִּית־יִשְׂרָאֵל**, "Thou hast been made wanton, O Ephraim, defiled is Israel's nation." Also in Amos 7:17 we must point: **אֲשַׁחֵךְ בַּעִיר הָזְנוֹה**. The Masorites have often not recognized the passive forms; in Hag. 2:22, e.g., we must read **יִרְדֵּי**, from **רָדָה**, not **יִרְדֵּי**, from **יָרַד**.

For **יבטו** in the last line see *AJSL*, XXVI, 94. The "wind" in the first hemistich refers to the violent disturbance in the political atmosphere, which will sweep away Israel. The prophet is the storm-petrel foretelling the tempest. The Assyrian kings call themselves *abûb tamzari*, "the whirlwind of battle"; they prostrate and overwhelm (*isâxapû*, *isâpanû*; cf. Heb. **סָחָה**; Ethiop. *safána*, Amhar. *šanafa*) their enemies like a cyclone (*abûbiš*) or like a heavy squall

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Arab. **شام ابا عيمى**.

(*kāma imbari*; see *HW*, 4, 79, 493, 508). Cf. the second stanza of Amos' final poem which appears in the received text at the beginning of the book (*OLZ*, X, 309):

1:13 \*על־שלשה פשעי <sup>א</sup>עמון ועל־ארבעה לא אשיבנו  
על־בקעם הרוח הגלעד למען הרחיב את־גבולם :  
14 והצת־אש בחומת רבה ואכלה את־ארמנותיה  
בחורקה ביום מלחמה בשער ביום סופה :  
והלך מלכם בגולה הוא ושירי יהודי :

14 (γ) אמר יהודה

בני (β)

1:13 (α) כה אמר יהודה

- 1:13 \*For the threefold crime of <sup>β</sup>Ammon,  
aye, fourfold! I will requite her!  
For they ripped up Gilead's women  
with child, to enlarge their borders.<sup>1</sup>  
14 At Rabbah's wall I'll kindle  
a fire devouring their mansions  
With clamor on the day of battle,  
with a storm on the day of the whirlwind.  
15 Their king will go into exile,  
he and his princes together.<sup>γ</sup>

(α) 1:13 thus JHVH said

(β) the Sons of

(γ) 14 said JHVH

For "irreverent, careless of God" in gloss α (*Hos.* 4:14b) cf. Haupt, *Ecclesiastes*, n. 1 on II. Heb. יִלְבַּט means literally "he will be knocked down." For the post-biblical לָבַט, "to disquiet, perturb," cf. the biblical synonym נָפַעַם, "to be disquieted, troubled," which means originally "to be kicked." The primary connotation of Syr. לָבַט, "to incite," is "to push." If Assy. *lubāṭu* (see Kūchler, *Med.*, 149) denotes "paralysis," the original meaning would be "stroke" (German *Schlag*, ἀποπληξία). The stem *labāṭu* is connected with *labānu* and *labāṣu*, "to throw down" (*HW*, 370–71), just as Assy. *xubtu*, "booty," corresponds to Arab. خبيسة and خباط (*Kings*, 207, \*; *AJSL*, XXIII, 252). The לָא in gloss δ is *scriptio plena* of the emphatic *la*, "verily"; see *GB*<sup>15</sup>, 370a, below [cf. *GB*<sup>15</sup>, xvii, ad 374a].

<sup>1</sup>It was not a war of vengeance, but merely a war of conquest.

The two Hoseanic triplets may be translated as follows:

- 4: 9 Like the people the priest will fare,<sup>a</sup>  
<sup>a</sup> I'll requite him for his deeds.  
 6b Since thou hast rejected reverence,  
 I'll reject thee as a priest to me.  
 Thou forgottest the law of thy God,  
 so I shall forget thy children.
- 13b <sup>γ</sup> Your daughters will play the harlot,  
 your brides will commit adultery.<sup>δ</sup>  
 10a They will eat, but will not be sated;  
 though their lust be excited, they'll fail.  
 19 With its wings the wind will inwrap them,  
 they'll be left in the lurch by their altars.

(a) 4: 14b the irreverent people will fall (δ) 9 I'll punish them for their actions  
 (γ) 13 therefore (δ) 14a I'll punish your harlot daughters and your adulterous brides

The gloss 4:1-5 should be prefixed to the first triplet of the second section of this Hoseanic poem, i.e., 4:16-18 (followed by 14b, 13a, 12a). The first section begins with 5:1, 2. The two stanzas of this secondary section must be read as follows:

בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל	שִׁמְעוּ דְּבָרִי	4:1
עֲשִׂי־שָׂבִי הָאָרֶץ	כִּי־רִיב לִיהָהָה	
וְאִי־דָעַתָּה בְּאֶרֶץ יִי	אִי־אֶמֶת וְאִי־חֶסֶד	
נָאָה וְגִבָּה	פָּחַשׁ וְאֵלֶּה	2
דָּמִים בְּדָמִים:	פָּרוֹן וְרִצָּה	
וְאֶמְלֵל כְּלִי־זָבִיבָה:	יִתְאָבֵל הָאָרֶץ	3
וְאֶל־יֹכֶחַ אִישׁ	אֶךְ־אִישׁ אֶל־יָרִיב	4
כִּנְבִּיאַ כִּפְהֵן:	כַּעַם כִּפְהֵן	
וּכְשֵׁל גַּם־נָבִיא	וּכְשֵׁלֹת הַיּוֹם	5
וּדְבַר־יִי אֶמֶן:	עֶמֶךָ הַלִּילָה	
לְשֹׁמֵר חֲבִל־שׁוֹאֵל	כִּי־אֶת־יְהוָה עֲזָבוּ	10b (γ)
וְחִירוֹשׁ יִקְח־לֵב:	זָכוֹת רִיזָן	11
וּבְעִיר הַשָּׂמִים	בַּחֲיַת שָׂדֶה	3 (δ)
הֵימָּה יִסְעָדוּ:	וְגַם דָּגִי	
מִצְלֵי הַדָּעַת:	כְּדָמֹר עֶפֶר	6a (γ)
	כִּי 4:1 (a)	
	נָגַע 2 (δ)	
	אֱלֹהִים (δ)	
	עַל כֵּן 3 (a)	

The order in which the infinitives of vs. 2 are given above is more appropriate than the sequence found in the received text. For *פִּרְיוֹן* and *נִגְרוֹ* we must read *פִּרְיוֹן* and *נִגְרוֹ*, which is a tertiary gloss. Vs. 4 implies that all classes of society and all parties are responsible for the impending doom, no one can accuse the other. The "night" is the disaster of the Northern Kingdom (*AJSL*, XXVII, 2, iv; XXI, 151, n. 106) and the "Mother" is the metropolis, Samaria (*WF*, 201, n. 25; *ZAT*, XXXIV, 114, 229). For *רַב־יָדַי* (and *רַב־יָדַי* in  $\eta$ ) see §§ 36, 67 of Dr. Schick's dissertation on *דָּוִם* and *רַב־יָדַי* (*JBL*, XXXII, 234, 243). For *רַב־לִי־שׁוֹא*, which must be inserted in after *לְשׁוֹמֵר* in  $\gamma$ , cf. Ps. 31:7 and Jon. 2:9 (*AJSL*, XXIII, 257). For *רַב־יָדַי* at the end of vs. 3 (gloss  $\zeta$ ) we must read *רַב־יָדַי*.

These two secondary stanzas may be rendered as follows:

4:1	Hear my words, A strife has JHVH "There is no truth or kindness,	ye Sons of Israel! with the denizens of the land: no reverence <sup>a</sup> in the land:*
2	Lying and cursing, Burglary and murder,	adultery and theft, bloodshed upon bloodshed! <sup>b</sup>
3	"The land laments, But let no man strive, Like people, like priestery;	all its denizens grieve; <sup>c</sup> or reprove another! like prophet, like Aaronites.
5	Thou wilt fall today, With thee will be night:	and so will the prophet. I'll destroy thy Mother. <sup>d</sup>

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(a) 4: 1	for	(b) of God
(c) 10b	For JHVH they forsook	to regard vain idols
11	Lewdness, and wine,	and must muddle brains.
(d) 3	With the beasts of the field	and the birds of the air,
	Even the fishes	of the sea are mournful.
(e) 6a	My people were destroyed	for lack of reverence.

Also the passage in 10:5 is secondary; it is a gloss to 10:6b, where we must transpose the two hemistichs,<sup>1</sup> thus reading: *יִבְיֹשׁ יִקָּה יִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׁעָבֹר בֹּקֶה אֶפְרַיִם יָקָה*, "But Israel's idol will fail her, disgrace will come over Ephraim." The gloss in vs. 5 should be read as follows:

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *AJSL*, XXII, 203, n. 17, l. 4, *Kings* 279, 45, and my remarks on Ps. 110:6 in my paper "Nach der Weise Melchisedeks," in *ZAT*, XXXVI.

10:5 לעגלו יגור שכן שומרון  
 עמו וכמרי יי ריאל עליו  
 ילילו על-כבודו כייגלה ממנו:  
 גם-אחו ייבל למלך הרב:

6a

10:5 בית-און (α) כי (β) עליו (γ) לאשור (δ) מנחה (ε)

For לעגלו we must read לעלו (ⲉⲗⲉⲗⲟ ⲙⲟⲥⲭⲫ). Both עגלות and עגלים were written 'עגלו' and 'עגלי' (cf. *AJSL*, XXVI, 205, ii). Also שדי at the end of the preceding verse stands for שדים (constr. שדי). ⲉⲕⲁⲣⲟⲓⲕⲟⲩⲟⲩⲟⲩⲉⲥ ⲥⲁⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁⲓⲁ does not show that we must read שכני; the singular שכן may be collective. Even יגורו שכן is not impossible, but the final ו of יגורו may be due to dittography of the ו (*AJSL*, XXVI, 207, below). The omission of the preformatives in יאל and יגלה is due to haplography. For יגלו read ילילו. But we must not read ייבילו instead of ייבל; the active would never have been corrupted into the passive (*GK*<sup>28</sup>, § 121, a). For למלך הרב read למלך הרב (cf. קריית מלך רב in Ps. 48:3 and Matt. 5:35) = Assy. *šarru rabū*, i.e., the king of Assyria.

The four lines of the gloss in Hos. 10:5 may be rendered as follows:

10:5	For their calf <sup>a</sup> are afraid	Samaria's dwellers,
	<sup>b</sup> Her people and priestery <sup>γ</sup>	will mourn for it.
	They will wail for its glory,	for from her it will part.
6a	It will be carried off <sup>δ</sup>	<sup>a</sup> to the great king.

(α) 10:5 of Beth-Aven. (β) for (γ) for it. (δ) 6 to Assyria (ε) as a gift

In Zeph. 1:4 we must read:

1:4 ונקיתי ידי עלי-יהודה ועל-יושבי ירושלם  
 והכרתי מן-המקום הזה<sup>β</sup> את-שם הכמרים:

1:4 כל (α) את שאר הבעל (β) עם הכהנים (γ)

1:4 I have stretched out my hand against Judah,  
<sup>a</sup>the denizens of Jerusalem;  
 I shall cut off from this place  
<sup>b</sup>the name of the priestery.<sup>γ</sup>

(α) 1:4 all (β) the remnant of Baal (γ) with the Aaronites

For the last hemistich cf. the Maccabean addition in Hos. 2:19 where שְׂמוֹת הַבְּעָלִים refers to the Greek gods, also vs. 4b of (the Maccabean) Ps. 16 (*JAOS*, XXXII, 124). The ראש אחד in Hos. 2:2 is Simon, the founder of the Hasmonean dynasty, who was appointed hereditary ruler (military, civil, and spiritual) in September, 141 B.C. (*GJV*<sup>4</sup>, I, 249). The "brothers" and "sisters" referred to in the following verse (Hos. 2:3) are the Jews rescued by Simon and Judas Maccabaeus from Galilee and Gilead in 164 B.C. (*AJSL*, XXIII, 25; XXVII, 49).

Ⲑ has את שם הכמרים עם ית שום פְּלִיחִידוֹן עִים כּוּמְרִידוֹן for פְּלִיחִידוֹן עִים כּוּמְרִידוֹן; also in Hos. 10:5 we find פְּלִיחִידוֹן, "his servants" or "worshippers," for כּוּמְרִידוֹן; but in II Kings 23:5 Ⲑ renders: כּוּמְרִידוֹן. For ועמך נצח עם מלפידוֹן (Hos. 4:4) Ⲑ gives ועמך נצח עם מלפידוֹן, "thy people quarrel with their teachers" (Ⲑ כּוּמְרִידוֹן מתחריא Ⲑ), "thy people is like a contending priest"; Ⲑ ⲉ ⲗⲁⲃⲟⲥ ⲙⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲥ ⲁⲛⲧⲓⲗⲉⲓⲉⲓⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲓⲉⲣⲉⲓⲩⲥ,<sup>1</sup> "my people is like a contested priest"). Ⲑ has *aruspices* in II Kings 23:5 and *aeditui* in Hos. 10:5; Zeph. 1:4, whereas Ⲑ has כּוּמְרִידוֹן in all three passages. Ⲑ<sup>v</sup> has χωμαρειμ (Ⲑ<sup>L</sup> ⲓⲉⲣⲉⲓⲩⲥ) in II Kings 23:5, but in Hos. 10:5 Ⲑ (καὶ καθὼς παρεπικρασαν αὐτόν) seems to have interpreted the last four letters of וכמרי as the Aramaic Pael of מרר (מְרִיר; in Syriac, מְרִי is used as Pael of מרר). For παραπικραίνει cf. Heb. 3:16. In Zeph. 1:4 Ⲑ has καὶ ἐξαπὼ ἐκ τοῦ τόπου τούτου τὰ ὀνόματα τῆς Βααλ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἱερέων, reading שְׂמוֹת instead of שְׂמֵר and omitting the gloss עם הכהנים (for ⲓⲉⲣⲉⲓⲩⲥ = כּוּמְרִידוֹן cf. Ⲑ<sup>L</sup> in II Kings 23:5). Nowack regards את שם הכמרים a secondary addition; Duhm, on the other hand, leaves את שְׂמֵר הַבְּעָלִים in the text, and eliminates מִן הַמִּקְדָּשׁ הַזֶּה and הַכֹּהֲנִים (ZAT, XXXI, 94). Cf. also J. M. P. Smith, *Micah, Zephaniah and Nahum* (ICC), pp. 186, 192.

<sup>1</sup> Simson, *Hessa* (1851), p. 128, conjectured that ⲓⲉⲣⲉⲓⲩⲥ was miswritten for ⲓⲉⲣⲉⲓⲩⲥ.

## Book Notices

### TAMMUZ AND ISHTAR

For more than two thousand years "Chaldean" has been synonymous with "astrologer, wise man," and the scholars who set about to recover the wisdom of the East were not surprised to find incantations, oracles, omens, and the like, prominent features in the religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians. After studying the *Maqlû*, *Shurpu*, *Udugḥul*, and similar series of texts, the student was likely to conclude that magic played the chief part in this religion. While it was recognized that these documents date from the later days of Assyrian and Babylonian history, it was assumed that most of them went back to Sumerian originals. On the other hand, the hymns and prayers of this later period, many of them in the Sumerian tongue with Semitic interlinear translations, were evidence of another and brighter side of the religion and warned against a too hasty conclusion as to the part magic played in the older cults. Only recently, however, has it been possible to give serious attention to the study of the religious texts dating from Sumerian days. The foundations of the Sumerian grammar and lexicon had to be laid before any substantial progress could be made in this field. One of the most industrious students of this literature is Professor Langdon who has given excellent translations of many Sumerian hymns and liturgies in his *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms* and *Babylonian Liturgies*. Another work from his pen is concerned with the Ishtar-Tammuz cult.<sup>1</sup> The author has diligently searched the literature for the materials upon which to base his theory of the development of the religion of the Sumerians, and reaches the conclusion that the cult of the mother-goddess Ishtar and the dying and rising son Tammuz comes first, not only in point of time, but also in importance in that religion. According to the preface, "these pages represent a reaction against the trend of Assyriological interpretation of Sumero-Babylonian religion, which has hitherto emphasized the magical side of this religion in a way wholly out of proportion to its purer ceremonies and deeper theology. . . . Abundant evidence is now in the hands of scholars, which shows that the daily liturgies of the Sumerians were wholly free from magic and admirably adapted to foster the highest aesthetic ideals of mankind."

The reviewer ventures to believe that in spite of the many and important facts which the author has gathered together in this work, it will receive much adverse criticism because of the method of approach.

<sup>1</sup> *Tammuz and Ishtar*. By Stephen Langdon. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1914. Pp. vii+196 and 6 plates. 10s. 6d.

The scholar who would write upon the religion of the Sumerians and Babylonians, or of any other people, is practically limited to two methods of interpretation. The first, that of the comparative mythologists, seeks to trace the myths and cult-practices of a people back to first principles, and usually professes to find that polytheism, polydemonism, magic, etc., are the result of devolution from an original monotheism. As a rule, all cults are found to be astral in origin. This method has certainly been losing ground rapidly before that of the folk-psychologist who fails to find any profound philosophy or tendency toward monotheism in the thinking and religion of primitive peoples. In fact, these scholars are not sure that man started out with any religion at all. They feel certain, however, that all the facts point to an evolution from vague conceptions of powers which might help or harm man, and magical practices by means of which man sought to gain the favor of, or render harmless, these powers; through polydemonism and polytheism, with a host of cult practices which were reinterpreted (through the myth) from time to time as their original meaning became obscure; to monotheism and ethical religion.

That Langdon follows the first method of interpretation will be seen from a quotation or two from the beginning of his book. "It would not be venturesome to affirm that this mystic cult of death and resurrection is one of the earliest forms of worship known to us, and so far as our sources permit us to speak, precedes the lower form of incantation and magic. Theological speculation, accompanied by a corresponding tendency to asceticism and mysticism, apparently preceded certain grosser types of magic to which the frailty of man so often inclines in the later stages of a given culture" (p. 3). "Sumero-Babylonian theology rests upon a theory of emanations; they supposed, as did the Egyptians, their contemporaries, that the union of heaven, the male principle, and the earth, the female principle, gave rise to a series of forms or degrees of material things which finally resulted in an ordered world. The original first principle (called *an*, "heaven") and the various emanations are regarded as containing in themselves power of self-creation; they are both male and female. Not until the devolution reaches the minor personifications of nature, as the sun, moon, storm, grain, and fire, do we find a sharp line of demarcation between male and female deities. . . . It is true that in practice we find the god of heaven and the goddess of heaven, the god of earth and the goddess of earth, but it is highly probable that the first concepts of deity were absolutely genderless, the masculine element perhaps predominating" (pp. 3, 4).

How deities could be absolutely genderless and still perhaps have the masculine element predominating is difficult to imagine. However, Langdon goes on to say that while this theology of genderless divinities was very primitive in Babylonia, "it was probably developed by the Sumerians from a more natural theology" (p. 4). He believes that the Sumerians probably adopted mother earth as the first deity and soon developed the idea of "a



divine son who suffers death and returns to life" (p. 8). And so, "since the worship of the mother-goddess and her son evidently forms the earliest element in human religion, at any rate in the Sumerian religion, we should conclude that, as the Book of Genesis asserts, man began to worship God and to found a social state in Mesopotamia" (p. 6). Furthermore, "the strongest evidence is at hand for supposing that the first deity worshipped by this most ancient of peoples was mother earth under the specific name, 'Goddess of the vine'" (p. 7). Since the vine is not indigenous to Mesopotamia (according to Langdon), he concludes that the Sumerian people brought this goddess with them from their more ancient home in the highlands of Central Asia, before 6000 B.C. (pp. 7f.).

This is the author's starting-point. He then proceeds with his investigation, "departing from the certain prehistoric situation, namely, that the Sumerian people brought with them to the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates the worship of Geshtinanna (the vine-goddess) and her brother Tammuz" (p. 44). And then, "at a time almost prehistoric the Semites invaded Mesopotamia, bringing with them the cult of Byblus. In Semitic religion the mother-goddess is invariably the mother of the youthful god, not the sister" (p. 50).

Having thus accounted for the origin of the mother-goddess and her brother (or son), Langdon holds that "it is probable that the gods of the numerous cities of Babylonia and Assyria, whatever may have been their special attributes acquired in later times, are at the beginning, each and all, shadows of this young god" (p. 28). So we are told that Ningirsu and Ningishzida of Lagash were nothing but special aspects of this god (p. 30). Soon Ningirsu is referred to as "that parasite god."<sup>2</sup> In like manner our author would regard most of the goddesses of the Babylonian pantheon as specialized forms of the mother-goddess. After the entrance of the Sumerians into Mesopotamia they observed "how life depended upon the rise and fall of the two rivers" and Mother Vine-Stalk "now appears as Ninâ, a name which means 'Queen of the waters'" (p. 44). Once settled in the agricultural lands of Sumer, they "connected mother earth with corn, barley, and reeds. A new type of virgin goddess, Nidaba, now appears, who like Ninâ soon became an independent deity" (p. 149). Apparently the history of the rest of the "Ishtars" was similar to that of Ninâ and Nidaba.

There can be no doubt about the attractiveness of such a theory of the origin and development of the Sumero-Babylonian religion. But, like the equally attractive theory of Darwin, it is too simple. Just as Darwinism has had to be modified from time to time to make room for new, and frequently bothersome, facts, so it is likely that any theory of the development

<sup>1</sup> Tammuz.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also p. 98, where Langdon reaches the conclusion that "Aġā is another one of those parasite goddesses . . . who incorporates one of the manifold aspects of the great Innini."

of the Sumero-Babylonian religion will need to be modified as our knowledge of that religion, and of religion in general, grows. In the interests of truth, such a theory must be put to the test at every point. It is the object of this review to inquire into the validity of some of Langdon's conclusions.

First of all, let us take up the categorical assertions that "the nourishing life of earth, warmed by the sunshine . . . furnished the prehistoric Sumerians of Central Asia with their first god," that "this deity who fostered all life was conceived of as a mother, unbegotten, genderless, producing animal and vegetable life as a virgin," and, since "primitive peoples do not think in abstract terms," they "conceived the earth-goddess under that form of life with which they were most familiar" and called her "Mother Vine-Stalk" (p. 43).

Waiving any discussion of the Athanasian epithets applied to the mother-goddess, let us inquire into the reasons for assuming that Mother Vine-Stalk was her original form. There seem to be two such reasons: (1) the occurrence of the name Mother Vine-Stalk as applied to Ishtar, in the hymns and liturgies, and (2) the alleged fact that the vine is not indigenous to Mesopotamia. Therefore, Mother Vine-Stalk must go back to a time before the entrance of the Sumerians into Mesopotamia (*ca.* 6000 B.C., according to the author). But what evidence have we that the vine is not indigenous to Mesopotamia? What do we know about the flora of Mesopotamia before 6000 B.C.? Do we know with any degree of certainty that the Sumerians came from the highlands of Central Asia? And if it should turn out that this was the case, how does Langdon know that Mother Vine-Stalk was their first and only (so it would seem) goddess? Who knows how many gods and goddesses the Sumerians may have worshiped and discarded in their early home, wherever this may have been? How do we know that they waited until they came to Sumer before they discovered corn-goddesses or a "queen of the waters"?

In a word, the whole difficulty with Langdon's hypothesis lies in the fact that it assumes that religion must have been the result of the apprehension of one great principle such as the self-renewing power of vegetable life. It is true, the author insists that primitive peoples do not think in abstract terms; hence to the Sumerians "the grape vine appears to have been the plant which appealed to them as most efficiently manifesting the power of the great mother" (p. 43). But this is putting the cart before the horse. For, if there is anything which the study of religion has demonstrated, it is the fact that such generalizations as an earth-goddess, or mother earth, are the result, not the origin, of a belief in a host of spirits or powers which were supposed to dwell in the corn, in the fruit trees, in fields or streams, hills or mountains, or in out-of-the-way places. Therefore, on the basis of our knowledge of primitive religions the world over, we may, nay, are forced to, assume that the corn-goddess, Nidaba, or the "queen of the waters," Ninâ, and a host of "Ishtars" existed side by side from time immemorial, and that,

because of the rise to prominence of this or that city-state, or because of theological speculation, one or the other of these goddesses became identified with, or absorbed, others, and in this way a great mother-goddess arose. That such a development was in full swing at the time represented by our earliest documents seems evident. But we must bear in mind that the building and votive inscriptions of the Sumerian period (before the Hammurabi Dynasty) are full of references to Niná, Innini, Bau, Gatumdug, Nidaba, and other goddesses, while the name of Mother Vine-Stalk occurs only twice, once as Ama-geshtin (in a tablet of Urakagina) and once as Geshtin-anna (on the statue of Ur-Bau). Furthermore, as Langdon himself admits, by far the commonest epithet of the mother-goddess was "queen of heaven, *gashan-anna* or *nin-anna*." The name Geshtin-anna is rare in the old hymns, and not common in the late (Assyrian and Babylonian) versions. Langdon himself admits (p. 57, n. 2) that this divinity (Geštin) survived only as the sister of Tammuz, the position of consort being exclusively reserved for the mother Innini.<sup>1</sup> It seems, therefore, purely arbitrary to speak of Mother Vine-Stalk as the original Sumerian deity.

Langdon has much to say about the theological speculation of the Sumerians and Babylonians, and yet, while it is true that there is abundant evidence of such speculation, it seems to the reviewer that the author has read infinitely more theology into the Sumero-Babylonian hymns and liturgies than they contain. Much of what is said about *an* as the "first principle, heaven," and *anna*, "heavenly, partaking of the nature of An, father heaven," does not seem to rest upon any sound exegesis of the sources. In fact, Langdon is compelled to explain away the obvious meaning of *ana* (in *gašan-ana*) as given by the Semitic translation (*Ištar*)-*šaḫat* (p. 88, n. 4).

In like manner, the reviewer believes, Langdon has gone entirely too far in his efforts to establish the purity of the ancient cults as over against those of later days. While it is true that the large majority of the "magical" texts are of comparatively late date, it does not follow that the older religion was free from magical practices. Langdon's discussion of the title, *nin-en*, *nin-en-na-ge*, "lady of incantation" (pp. 45 f.) would be sufficient evidence to the contrary, did we not possess other evidence.

In conclusion: In view of the numerous passages in the religious texts, in particular, the *Ištar*-Tammuz texts, the meaning of which still eludes our grasp, is it not fair to inquire whether generalizations such as are found in the work under discussion are not premature?

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. also p. 53, n. 4.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

SOME PROBLEMS IN THE EARLY HISTORY OF HEBREW RELIGION. <i>By J. M. Powis Smith</i>	81-97
A LETTER OF RIM-SIN. <i>By D. D. Luckenbill</i>	98-101
NEW INSCRIPTIONS OF NABUNA'ID. <i>By S. Langdon</i>	102-117
DAVID'S LAMENT OVER SAUL AND JONATHAN: II SAM. 1:19-27. <i>By James Kennedy</i>	118-125
HEXAPLA AND HEXAPLARIQ. <i>By Max L. Margolis</i>	126-140
CRITICAL NOTES. <i>By Paul Haupt</i>	141-144

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## SOME PROBLEMS IN THE EARLY HISTORY OF HEBREW RELIGION

By J. M. POWIS SMITH  
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The process of taking possession of the "promised land" is now recognized as having extended over a long period. The later point of view, as found, e.g., in Josh. 11:15-23, represents the entire transaction as having occurred in the lifetime of Joshua and as having involved the total extermination of the Canaanites. But the evidence to the contrary is overwhelming. Older narratives in the Book of Joshua itself contradict any such representation (e.g., 15:13-19, 63; 16:10; 17:11 ff.); and these are corroborated by similar statements in the first chapter of the Book of Judges (e.g., 1:10-21, 27-36). The geographical distribution of the Hebrews shows clearly that the "conquest" cannot have been the result of a sweeping invasion carried out triumphantly by a united people. As a matter of fact, the Hebrews after the conquest were split into isolated sections, with groups and chains of Canaanitish strongholds separating each section from its Hebrew allies. This points to invasion at different times from different quarters and by different attacking forces. The same interpretation of the "conquest" is suggested by the fact that the record as it now stands reports an attempt to invade Canaan from the south (Num. 14:44 f.; 21:1-3);

and by the further fact that Israel is stated to have been settled in the region east of the Jordan already for three hundred years in the time of Jephthah (Judg. 11:26). Indeed, the part played by military conquest of any sort must not be exaggerated. Speaking from the point of view of the archaeologist, S. A. Cook declares<sup>1</sup> that one of the results of the excavations in Palestine is "the recognition that the Israelite invasion did not cause that dislocation which would have ensued had the Israelites forcibly taken the place of the Canaanites. The archaeologists are now unanimous that there was no sweeping invasion; only slow absorption, a gradual process, is the most that the excavations admit. Thus while external evidence, in turn, ignores any conquest of the invading Israelite tribes, archaeology at last independently supports a view which has been familiar to biblical scholars for some thirty years."

While there is pretty general agreement to the effect that the Hebrew settlement in Canaan was not a hastily completed movement, there is no such consensus of opinion as to the precise date at which that settlement began or the division points of its various stages. In any case, however, the Hebrew occupation of Canaan seems to have gone back to an early date and to have continued without serious interruption down to the end of Jewish history. The patriarchal traditions connect the earliest history of the Hebrew people with Palestine. If we could accept the identification of the Amraphel of Gen., chap. 14, with Hammurabi, and be sure of the trustworthy character of that chapter as history, we should have to place the earliest appearance of Israel in Palestine about 2100 B.C. But neither this philological identification,<sup>2</sup> nor the historicity of Gen., chap. 14,<sup>3</sup> is above suspicion. The only definite evidence furnished by this chapter and the other patriarchal material is that the national memory retained some consciousness of a very early residence in

<sup>1</sup> *Expositor* (August, 1909), p. 100. So also Vincent, *Canaan d'après l'exploration récente* (1907), pp. 225, 461-64; S. R. Driver, *Modern Research as Illustrating the Bible* (1909), p. 87.

<sup>2</sup> For the reasons rendering the equivalence very questionable see C. H. W. Johns, *The Laws of Babylonia and the Laws of the Hebrew People* (1914), pp. 18 f.; Jensen, *ZDMG* (1896), p. 252; C. Bezold, *Die babyl.-assyrl. Keilschriften u.s.w.* (1904), pp. 26, 54.

<sup>3</sup> See e.g., Th. Nöldeke, *Untersuchungen* (1869), pp. 156-72; J. Meinhold, *I Mose 14. Eine historisch-kritische Untersuchung* (1911), pp. 1-50; L. W. King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi, I* (1898), xxv-lvi; J. Skinner, *Critical and Exeg. Comm. on Genesis* (1910), pp. 272-76.

Canaan. More definite, but unfortunately not more trustworthy, is Jephthah's statement to the Ammonites in Judg. 11:26 that Israel had been in possession of Canaan, east of the Jordan, for 300 years. This would place the Hebrews in Eastern Palestine at least as early as 1500 B.C. or thereabouts. But the statement is probably of late origin and not an original part of its context, as was first pointed out by Professor George Foot Moore.<sup>1</sup> Yet this hazy and indefinite sense of an age-long sojourn in Canaan is supported by extra-biblical testimony, to which we must now turn.

The Theban lists of Thothmes III (1479-1447 B.C.), Ramses II (ca. 1292-1225 B.C.), and Ramses III (ca. 1198-1167 B.C.) exhibit the name Y'-q-b-'r as the designation of a place in the western part of Central or Northern Palestine.<sup>2</sup> No. 78 of the list of Thothmes III, another place-name, was at first read as Joseph-el; but that reading is now questioned by some.<sup>3</sup>

Even if both names were correctly read as Jacob-el and Joseph-el, they would not in and of themselves furnish inevitable demonstration that Hebrews were in Palestine in the fifteenth and following centuries B.C. Barton, indeed, has pointed out<sup>4</sup> that the place-names may have antedated the arrival of the Hebrews, the latter having derived their ancestral names from the places, rather than vice versa. On the other hand, the name Jacob-el (or -her) at least may have come to Palestine as a deposit from the receding tide of the Hyksos invasion. Thothmes III drove these intruders from Egypt and northward through Palestine. One of the Hyksos Pharaohs left his name recorded on many scarabs as Jacob-her. There may well have been some connection between this Hyksos chieftain and the place-name of the Karnak lists. Perhaps there were Hebraic elements mingled in the Hyksos hordes.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Judges* (1895), pp. 296 f.; so also K. Budde, *Das Buch der Richter* (1897), p. 85; W. Nowack, *Richter, Ruth* (1902), p. 106; Lagrange, *Le Livre des Juges* (1903), p. 201; G. A. Cooke, *Book of Judges* (1913), p. 121.

<sup>2</sup> No. 102 in Thothmes List, No. 9 in that of Ramses II, and No. 104 in that of Ramses III. See W. Max Müller, "Die Palästinaliste Thutmosis III," *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiat. Gesellschaft*, XII (1907), 27.

<sup>3</sup> See e.g., W. Max Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 23; Winckler, *Gesch. Isr.*, II, 68; and Maspéro, *Or. Lit. Zeitung* (1899), p. 397; on the other hand, George A. Barton (*Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, LII [1913], 189), still adheres to the reading "Joseph-el" originally offered (*ZAW*, VI, 8) by Ed. Meyer.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 195; so also J. P. Peters, *The Religion of the Hebrews* (1914), p. 54.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. J. H. Breasted, *History of Egypt* (2d ed., 1912), p. 220.



Thothmes III has preserved another name of interest for our subject, viz., No. 97 on his list, which reads Ba-ti-y-â and is equated with Beth-Yah by W. Max Müller.<sup>1</sup> But even if the equation be correct, it does not necessarily follow that it is a Hebrew name, for the God Yahweh was not confined to the Hebrew people in early days.<sup>2</sup> Yet the possibility of its Hebraic origin remains. Likewise the name 'sr found on the lists of Seti I (ca. 1315-1292 B.C.) and Ramses II (1292-1225 B.C.), his son, is a possible proof of Hebrew residence in Canaan during that period. It seems to indicate a place in the northwest of Palestine. It has been variously identified with Asher,<sup>3</sup> Assyria,<sup>4</sup> and most recently Israel.<sup>5</sup> But while Assyrian connections seem unlikely,<sup>6</sup> no certainty attaches to any other proposed reading. The possibility of a very early settlement of Hebrews in Canaan would receive surer support if Sellin and Watzinger should prove to be correct in their contention<sup>7</sup> that the Hebrew overthrow of Jericho cannot be placed later than 1500 B.C.

More definite and convincing evidence of the presence of Hebrews in Canaan is furnished by the Tel-el-Amarna letters. These were written chiefly in the reigns of Amenophis III and IV (1411-1358 B.C.). In a group of these letters that Abd-ḥiba, king of Jerusalem, sent to Egypt, there is constant reference to a hostile and aggressive people called *Habiru*. They are mentioned in none of the other letters. But instead of them in other letters, the *Sa-gaz* people are constantly to the fore and are represented as acting in precisely the same way as the *Habiru*, according to the complaint of Abd-ḥiba. It was at once suspected that the two names applied to one and the same people. The suspicion grew to certainty with the discovery of two more significant facts. Abd-ḥiba reports that a certain governor, named Labaia, is in treacherous alliance with the *Habiru* (Knudtzon, No. 289). Labaia himself writes to the king of Egypt

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> See George A. Barton, "Yahweh Before Moses," *Studies in the History of Religions Presented to Crawford Howell Toy* (1912), pp. 187-204.

<sup>3</sup> So W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa* (1893), pp. 236 ff.

<sup>4</sup> K. Sethe, *Götting. gelehrte. Anzeig.* (1904), pp. 936 f.

<sup>5</sup> So Böhl, *Kanaaner und Hebräer* (1911), p. 80.

<sup>6</sup> On philological grounds; nowhere else, it is claimed, is Asshur written in this way. Historically, the Assyrians are known to have crossed the Euphrates by 1300 B.C., and to have reached the Mediterranean by 1100.

<sup>7</sup> *Jericho* (1913), pp. 181 f.

regarding the deeds of the *Sa-gaz* and their allies (Knudtzon, No. 254) in his vicinity. This would show at least a very close co-operation between *Habiru* and *Sa-gaz*. The Boghaz-Keui documents enable us to go farther. They contain copies of a treaty between the Hittites and the people of Mitanni. In connection with the signing of the treaty by the contracting parties and witnesses, a long list of gods is called upon to protect and guarantee its sanctity. Following a number of Hittite deities, there occurs in one draft of the treaty the phrase *ilani ha-ab-bi-ri*; in precisely the same place in two other copies the phrase is *ilani Sa-gaz*. This makes the practical identity of *Sa-gaz* and *Habiru* reasonably certain.<sup>1</sup> It should be borne in mind that these Boghaz-Keui documents come from the generations immediately following the Tel-el-Amarna age. The evidence for identifying the *Habiru* with the Hebrews need not here be restated. It is so strong as to have convinced most workers in this field.<sup>2</sup> It is a significant fact in this connection, to which attention has often been called, that the Amarna letters from Canaan calling upon Egypt for help include none from the cities which afterward, at least, were famous in ancient Hebrew tradition, viz., Beth-el, Beer-sheba, Hebron, Jericho, Shiloh, Gibeon, and Mizpah. Were these towns already in possession of the *Habiru*, even as we know Shechem to have been (Knudtzon, No. 289<sup>23</sup>)? Among the towns from which letters were sent are Jerusalem, Megiddo, Gezer, Sidon, Acco, Tyre, Byblos, Beyrout, and Ascalon, some of which were occupied by Israel only very late, and the rest not at all. *Habiru* is generally recognized as being a more comprehensive name than Israel, including

<sup>1</sup> See H. Winckler, *MDOG*, December, 1907, Anm. 25; Böhl, *Kanaanäer und Hebräer* (1911), p. 87; Knudtzon, *Die el-Amarna Tafeln* (1908), pp. 46-53.

The exact equivalence of *Sa-gaz* and *Ha-bi-ru* can hardly be maintained. Ungnad, *Babylonische Briefe aus der Zeit der Hammurapi Dynastie* (1914), pp. 25 f., has published a letter (No. 26) from Hammurabi which describes a certain man as *akil amel Sa-gazmes*. This demonstrates the presence of *Sa-gaz* upon the borders of Babylon about 2100 B.C. Friedr. Delitzsch, *Sumerisches Glossar* (1914), pp. 84 f., cites an unpublished vocabulary from Assur as offering *sa-gaz* = *habbatum* and K. 2055 as reading similarly *sa-gaz* = *hab-b[atum]*, according to his own unpublished copy. The meaning of *habbatum* is well known, viz., "plunderers," "destroyers" (cf. Brünnow, *A Classified List*, No. 3123). Hence it is clear that *sa-gaz* is a designation for nomads in general, or Bedouin; and of these the *Habiru* were a part. Cf. Dhorme, *Revue biblique*, 1909, pp. 68 ff.; and O. Weber, in Knudtzon's *El-Amarna Tafeln*, pp. 1146 ff.

<sup>2</sup> E.g., H. Zimmern, *ZDPV*, XIII (1890), 137; H. Winckler, *KAT*, pp. 196 ff.; Knudtzon, *op. cit.*, p. 48 and O. Weber, *ibid.*, p. 1336; Ed. Meyer, *Die Israeliten* (1906), p. 225; Lehmann-Haupt, *Israel* (1911), pp. 35 f.; Kittel, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, I (1912), 441.

probably within its limits, not only Israel, but also such peoples as the Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites. The Amarna and Boghaz-Keui tablets thus testify to the presence of Hebrews in Palestine about 1375 B.C. and thereafter.

Seti I of Egypt (*ca.* 1313–1292 B.C.) in the first year of his reign fought against the *Shasu* tribes, destroying them “from the fortress of Tharu as far as Canaan” (Breasted, *Ancient Records*, III, § 88). Again it is said, “The vanquished *Shasu* plan rebellion. Their tribal chiefs are gathered together rising against the Asiatics of Kharu,” i.e., Palestine (Breasted, *AR*, III, §§ 101, 108). These *Shasu* are to be identified with the *Sa-gaz*,<sup>1</sup> that is, the group of which the *Habiru*, or Hebrews, formed a part.

The name Israel occurs unmistakably for the first time on the stela of victory set up by Merneptah (1225–1215 B.C.) in his mortuary temple at Thebes. Thereon occurs the now well-known passage:

Israel is desolated, his seed is not;  
Palestine has become a widow for Egypt.

This makes the presence of Israel in Palestine in the early part of the thirteenth century B.C. incontestable.

Putting these data together, we find Hebrews in Palestine about the opening of the fourteenth century B.C., and at the close of that century; possibly again in the reign of Ramses II in the thirteenth century, and certainly in the reign of his successor Merneptah, at the close of the thirteenth century. This practically establishes a continuous Hebrew residence in Canaan for approximately two hundred years, viz., during the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C. If the name Jacob-her could be regarded as definite proof of Hebraic influence we should have to carry back the period of continuous residence for another century.

This fact complicates the problem of the date of the Israelite entry into Egypt and of the Exodus therefrom. It seems that there is no room for it at any time between the two termini we have found for the presence of the Hebrews in Canaan. Shall we, therefore, follow Eerdmans<sup>2</sup> in placing the entire Egyptian experience after the

<sup>1</sup> So e.g., Breasted, *AR*, III, § 99; Ed. Meyer, *Festschrift für Georg Ebers*, pp. 75, 76; *idem*, *Die Israeliten*, pp. 225 f.; Böhl, *Kanaanäer und Hebräer*, p. 79; Lehmann-Haupt, *Israel*, p. 26; *et al.*

<sup>2</sup> *Alttestamentliche Studien*, II (1908), 74 f.

days of Merneptah, striving to find room for the entry into Egypt, the bondage in Egypt, and the Exodus, between 1210 and 1130 B.C. ? Or shall we place the Egyptian episode before the period of residence in Canaan, identifying the Exodus with the expulsion of the Hyksos,<sup>1</sup> or seeing in the *Habiru* invasion the biblical conquest of Canaan ?<sup>2</sup> Or shall we turn away from both of these positions alike and have recourse to the hypothesis of a divided Israel, part of which was in Canaan continuously and part in Egypt prior to its entry into Canaan ?<sup>3</sup> In whichever of these views we take refuge the significant fact which we have already chronicled remains, viz., that there were Hebrews in Canaan at least as early as ca. 1400 B.C., and possibly ca. 1600 B.C., and from that time on down continuously till 1200 B.C.

This fact has not received the attention to which it is entitled in current treatments of Hebrew history and religion. It calls for some reconsideration of our dates for the origins of early Hebrew literature, institutions, and ideas. The earliest Hebrew legislation is commonly placed in the ninth or tenth century B.C. For example, H. P. Smith says, "The earliest Hebrew Code that has come down to us (the so-called Book of the Covenant, Exod. 20:22—23:23), was published at a date considerably later than the time of Solomon.

<sup>1</sup> E.g., M. Gemoll, *Israeliten und Hyksos* (1913); W. Freyherr von Bissing, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, pp. 37 ff.; H. R. Hall, *The Ancient History of the Near East* (1913), p. 403 ff.; P. Asmussen, "Die Einwanderung Israels in Canaan," *Memnon*, VII (1915), 185—207.

<sup>2</sup> E.g., H. Winckler, *Geschichte Israels*, I (1895), 14; Guthe, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 2d ed. (1904), p. 58; A. T. Clay, *Light on the Old Testament from Babel* (1907), pp. 265 ff.; Knudtzon, *Die el-Amarna Tafeln* (1908), pp. 48 f.; S. A. B. Mercer, *Extra-Biblical Sources* (1913), pp. 11 f.; Steindorff, *ZAW*, XVI (1896), 330—33. Asmussen, *loc. cit.*, posits a twofold entry into Canaan, (1) that of Judah and related tribes from the South in the Amarna period, (2) that of the Ephraimitic group from the East shortly after reign of Ramses III (ca. 1198—1167 B.C.).

<sup>3</sup> So e.g., Steuernagel, *Die Einwanderung der isr. Stämme in Kanaan* (1901), p. 100; B. Stade, *Akademische Reden* (1899), pp. 107 f.; Kittel, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, 2d ed., I (1912), 539; Driver, *Modern Research* (1909), p. 39; Spiegelberg, *Der Aufenthalt Israels in Aegypten* (1904); P. S. P. Handcock, *The Latest Light on Bible Lands* (1915), pp. 82 f.

The theory of a divided Israel would become imperatively necessary, if the identification of the 'Apiru with the Hebrews should prove to be correct; for the 'Apiru are known to have been in Egypt in the reigns of Ramses II (ca. 1292—1225 B.C.), Ramses III (ca. 1198—1167 B.C.) and Ramses IV (ca. 1167—1161 B.C.). But Israel was in Canaan certainly in the reign of Merneptah, son of Ramses II. Hence on the basis of 'Apiru-Hebrews we are driven to posit a divided people. Even so, the placing of the Exodus after 1161 B.C. gives rise to more problems than it solves. See H. J. Heyes, *Bibel und Aegypten* (1904), pp. 146 ff.; B. D. Erdmans, *Alttestamentliche Studien*, II (1908), 52 f.; Böhl, *Kanaan und Hebräer* (1911), pp. 73 ff.; R. Kittel, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, I (1912), 453 ff., 530; S. R. Driver, *Book of Exodus* (1911), pp. xii f.; J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records*, IV (1906), 150.

But it embodies usage which is as old as Solomon or older, and we may use it to throw light on the social conditions of the time."<sup>1</sup> Similarly, the same author at a more recent date says, "That the Covenant Code, like the earliest Decalogue, was the product of the agricultural age [which Professor Smith places after the Exodus] needs no demonstration."<sup>2</sup> Another writer, J. P. Peters,<sup>3</sup> puts the entire development of the E document, together with the Book of the Covenant, between 875 and 775 B.C. Steuernagel, in the latest *Einleitung* (1912), places the origin of the Book of the Covenant in the eighth or ninth century, but notes that the materials of which it is composed may be much older, reflecting as they do influence on the part of the Code of Hammurabi. We may summarize the general opinion in the words of H. Wheeler Robinson:

Almost all Old Testament scholars would agree on the following summary of conclusions: The earliest Hebrew literature we possess consists of songs or other poetry, of which the oldest is probably the Song of Deborah: this goes back to the twelfth century B.C. Stories of the heroes who are now classed as "judges," and of the first two kings, were composed a century or two later, as was also the earliest code of Hebrew law, known as the "Book of the Covenant."<sup>4</sup>

This is the general point of view of recent scholarship, British, German, and American alike. How does this conclusion relate itself to the aforesaid fact that the Hebrews were in continuous residence in Canaan for at least two hundred years before 1200 B.C.?

Suppose we place Moses and the Exodus in connection with the expulsion of the Hyksos (viz., 1580 B.C.); why should we wait till the twelfth century for our earliest Hebrew literature and till the eleventh, tenth, or ninth for our earliest legislation? Did it require five or six hundred years for the nomadic Hebrews to acquire that degree of civilization reflected in the Covenant Code? That civilization is not of a complex or elaborate style. The conditions presupposed by the laws are almost exclusively agricultural. The only prerequisite for such legislation is the adoption of a settled agricultural life and the practice of it for a sufficient time to have worked

<sup>1</sup> *Old Testament History* (1903), p. 174.

<sup>2</sup> *Religion of Israel* (1914), p. 113.

<sup>3</sup> *Religion of the Hebrews* (1914), p. 465.

<sup>4</sup> *The Religious Ideas of the Old Testament* (1913), p. 5.

out a few simple laws safeguarding the most elementary rights of the individual and the society living that type of life. Certainly a half-millennium is too generous an allowance.

The case is helped somewhat if the traditional "Conquest" be identified with the invasion of the *Habiru*. This was taking place, as we have seen, about 1375 B.C. But even so, the lapse of time, 200 years, before the production of any permanent literature is unnecessarily great. The situation is much worse in the case of the law. Customs antedate literature and laws come into force long before books are read. Yet on the basis of the current dating of the Covenant Code there would be a period of from three to four hundred years after the "Conquest" before any code assumed form and not less than from two to three hundred years before the individual laws of the Code were formulated.<sup>1</sup>

Suppose, however, that we put Moses and the Exodus after Merneptah's overthrow of Israel in the fifth year of his reign. This would reduce the period of Egyptian residence to very short duration, for we should certainly have to place Israel back in Canaan by ca. 1100 B.C. at the latest. Would so relatively short a period of Egyptian residence, not all of which was servitude according to the biblical records, have been sufficient to obliterate all traces of the culture acquired in Palestine during a residence of two hundred years or more? Would returning Israel have had to start life *de novo* in the old home? Is it not rather more likely that the old traditions and customs would have perpetuated themselves with sufficient pertinacity to have made the task of renewing and resuming them a relatively simple one, calling for comparatively little waste of time and energy? If this supposition be correct, the situation does not differ essentially from the one we have already considered. Israel would have been planted long enough in Canaan to have taken root and to have borne fruit. In the two centuries or more preceding the migration to Egypt, she would have acquired the civilization of Canaan and made it her own. She would have developed her own literary traditions or adopted and adapted the native Canaanitish ones. She would have worked out for herself a system of laws

<sup>1</sup> In a somewhat similar situation the Amorites produced the relatively elaborate code of Hammurabi after a period of not more than two hundred years in Babylonia.

and customs adequate to her needs; or, more likely still, she would have taken over the customs of the Canaanites in large part along with and as a part of Canaanitish culture, and would have woven them into the fabric of her own social life. Certainly all this literary and social gain would have been carefully treasured during the interim in Egypt, and the task of re-creating the old life with its traditions and institutions would have been greatly facilitated by the memories and the faithful instructions of the elder generation. Under such conditions as these, it would be almost necessary to suppose that the beginnings of literature and law took shape *before* the descent into Egypt. These beginnings would not have been lost, but would have constituted the foundations upon which the returning Hebrews would build.

The third reconstruction of the history has found many adherents. It supposes that the Hebrew clans in Egypt represented only one section of Israel as a whole, and that, too, a relatively small one. The main body of the people held their home in Canaan straight through from the earliest settlement without interruption of residence. If the Exodus and "Conquest" be placed very early, the problem as to the origins of law and literature differs in no essential respect from that arising on our first supposition, viz., that all Israel left Egypt and entered Canaan as early as the fourteenth or possibly the sixteenth century. An early Exodus and "Conquest" on the part of a portion of Israel would yield a united Israel in Canaan at an early date, with the resulting questions for the historian to which we have already called attention. But suppose the Exodus and "Conquest" be placed on the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as is done by many;<sup>1</sup> what form does the problem assume then? As interpreted by all scholars, so far, the whole fate of Israel is placed in the hands of the clans that came out of Egypt. No recognition of any sort is given to the Hebrew clans supposed to have been in Canaan for generations and centuries before the fugitives from Egypt found a foothold there. Are these clans rightly treated as a negligible quantity? Blood is always and everywhere thicker

<sup>1</sup> So e.g., S. R. Driver, *Exodus* ("Cambridge Bible," 1911), pp. xxx ff.; T. G. Pinches, *The Old Testament in the Light of the Historical Records of Assyria and Babylonia* (1902), pp. 305 f.; McCurdy, *History, Prophecy and the Monuments* (1898), §§ 167, 183; Maspéro, *Struggle of the Nations* (1897), p. 444; Gressmann, *Mose und seine Zeit* (1913), p. 424.

than water. It is scarcely reasonable to suppose that the Hebrews already in Canaan failed to co-operate with the incoming Hebrews. Even if there were no effective military aid forthcoming from them, it is hardly possible that after hostilities were past there should not have been an increasingly free interchange of ideas and customs. It can hardly be imagined that the two strata of Hebrews should have remained apart permanently, the first-comers choosing to cast in their lot at a later time with the Canaanites as over against their own brethren. If the two Hebraic groups united, such union would come more naturally in the early days of the later Hebrew occupation than after an indefinite postponement. Of course there was no formal union of clans; this did not come till the days of Saul and David. But there must have been recognition of mutual relationships and interests and a free intercourse along social and economic lines. Under the tutelage of those Hebrews who had preceded them, the Mosaic group would rapidly adjust itself to the life of Canaan and overtake their teachers themselves.

Under these conditions it would always be an open question with the student of this period as to how much of the early literature, law, and religion should be credited to the account of the pre-Mosaic Hebrews in Canaan. These early comers had maintained their identity in Canaan, not permitting themselves to be wholly absorbed and lost in the Canaanitish communities around and among them. But to retain and maintain identity means that they preserved some or many of their own characteristic social and religious ideas and institutions. They had succeeded in adjusting themselves socially and religiously to the changed conditions of life in Canaan long before the instalment of Hebrews under Moses arrived. All the work, thought, and experience that had gone into the making of the early settlers' life as they now lived it made it unnecessary for the new arrivals to toil and suffer long as their predecessors had done. The first settlers had labored and these late comers entered into their labors.

It is quite clear that if any such situation as we have described existed the results of it upon the development of Hebrew civilization would be largely the same as though there had been no schism in Israel and as though Israel as a whole had been in continuous



residence in Canaan from the fourteenth century or even earlier. The inflow of fresh Hebrews at a late stage in the period of development would retard the progress of the entire body for but a relatively short time, after which all would move forward together and perhaps with increased momentum. We are driven back again, therefore, to the conclusion that the literature and the laws of the early Hebrews may well go considerably farther back in time for their origins than they are generally placed. Put the Exodus and the "Conquest" where you will in point of time, and the fact of an early and continuous residence of a large body of Hebrews in Canaan forces a reconsideration of our dates for early Hebrew laws and writings. The materials directly affected are the Covenant Code (Exod. 20:23—23:33 and chap. 34), the earlier forms of the J and E documents, and the older materials in Judges.

Involved in this whole situation with which we have been dealing is another question. Where shall we place Moses and what significance shall we attach to him? It is usually taken for granted that Moses marks an era in the history of Hebrew religion.<sup>1</sup> This need not be denied. But we shall have to ask ourselves whether or not all Hebrew civilization, including religion and ethics, started with Moses. Tradition, both biblical and later, has no hesitation in affirming this. But tradition is not discriminating. If we adopt the chronological program which represents the followers of Moses as having entered Canaan long after other Hebraic clans had been settled there, we are confronted with this question: How did it come to pass that the Mosaic contribution to Hebrew life bulked so large in the later Hebrew tradition? What was it that Moses grafted upon the religion of the older settlers that ultimately determined the nature of the entire religious life of Israel? The followers of Moses must have been an exceedingly forceful and tenacious generation to have been able to stand out against the insidious influences of the well-established religion and culture of their older brethren so successfully as to transform their whole thought and life, at least on its ethical and religious side. If this seems too much to expect of the handful of nomadic Hebrews, shall we seek a way out by minimizing

<sup>1</sup> A few scholars deny the historicity of Moses *in toto*; so e.g., Ed. Meyer, *Die Israeliten* (1906), p. 451, n. 1. On the contrary, see H. Grossmann, *Mose und seine Zeit* (1915); P. Volz, *Mose* (1907); B. Stade, *Akademische Reden* (1899), p. 106.

the importance of the Mosaic contribution? Shall we follow Ed. Meyer, for example, in treating Moses as nothing more than a lay figure which serves as a convenient ancestor for the priesthood of some sanctuary, such as that at Kadesh? Yet how are we to account for the activities of such a mythical person being so largely staged in Egypt and how did so all-embracing a tradition come into being and assume such stature upon so slight a basis?

Moses fares little better if we take the suggestion that all Israel left Canaan and went down into Egypt after the reign of Merneptah. The stay in Egypt would then have been necessarily so short as to have had comparatively small effect upon the habits and thought of the Israelites. Moses therefore would have been confronted with the task of taking a highly civilized people in hand and by the sheer force of his own personality leading them into a new type of religion and imposing upon them a new set of laws, though they were already provided with institutions that had served them well for generations in the very land to which they were going back. Here again shall we not have to choose between requiring of Moses that which is practically impossible and minimizing his work to such a degree as to make it difficult to account for his extraordinary reputation?

The necessity of finding scope for the activities of Moses seems to point in the direction of putting him and his work at the beginning of the period of Palestinian residence for Israel. Moses can hardly be accounted for as a side issue. His great formative work belongs almost inevitably near the beginning of the Hebraic social and religious development. If we put the Exodus either in connection with the Hyksos departure from Egypt or somewhat later in connection with the *Habiru*-movement of the Amarna period, we are giving Moses a chance at the inchoate, developing consciousness of Israel. His work then falls in a period when nothing is as yet fixed, but everything is transitional or new. At such a time a strong man has a chance to help determine the molds in which the life and thought of later generations shall run.

Wherever we may place Moses, we must reckon with the people whose residence in Palestine began at least five hundred years before the date ordinarily assigned to the origin of the Covenant Code. And reckoning with them, as we have seen, involves an older date

for the legislation of the Code than is commonly assigned to it. The need of giving it an earlier origin ought to have suggested itself to us as we have read and studied that legislation itself. There is nothing of a very advanced nature, either ethically or religiously, in the Code. There are some things, indeed, of quite the contrary sort. Take, for example, the regulations for the construction of altars (Exod. 20:24-26). The material to be used is preferably earth. If, however, stone be used instead, it must not on any account be hewn—it must remain in its primitive state. Nor shall there be steps leading up to the altar, lest the priest's person be indecently exposed as he ascends them. Compare with these instructions the fact that the altar in Solomon's temple was made of copper or bronze (I Kings 8:64; II Kings 16:14 f.). Is it probable that a code of laws, in force at the very time when Solomon was erecting his temple and according to the usual opinion not actually codified until after Solomon's day, should have been so publicly set at nought and not a word of explanation proffered regarding it? It is a somewhat gratuitous suggestion that this bronze altar of Solomon's was due to foreign influence and was a departure from the ordinary procedure at the time. As a matter of fact when Ahaz, at a later day, did import a new altar, the fact was not overlooked in the records, but was recorded in detail (I Kings 16:10-16). Is it not more reasonable to suppose that this altar-law of the Covenant Code was formulated long before Solomon's time and had already become a dead letter by his day? It is, perhaps, a relic of the cultus of the desert which could not maintain itself amid the more luxurious civilization of the land "flowing with milk and honey."

It is not necessary to suppose an exceedingly long period of residence in Canaan for the origin of the Covenant Code. The social institutions therein reflected and the economic relations are extremely simple. It is the ordinary, primitive farmer's life we see there, and nothing more. The advance from the nomadic life to such an agricultural life as this is not one of so great difficulty as to call for centuries of time. Two or three generations at most ought to see the transformation completed, at least in the case of a people not possessed of a wild, roving spirit, such as that of the American Indian. The ethical standards of the Code are in keeping with the

simplicity of the culture of which they were a part. There is no such elaboration and complexity of statutes as we see, for example, in the Code of Hammurabi. Nothing in the Hebrew Code is inconsistent with a relatively early origin, except Exod. 20:23. The whole usage of the age of Saul, David, and Solomon and the succeeding generations forbids the theory of the existence of a law against the use of images, whether of Yahweh or of other gods. Image-worship was practiced, not only with impunity, but without the slightest consciousness on the part of anyone that it was not a wholly fitting and commendable type of worship. The law against it was probably attached to the Code in one of its latest revisions.

The probability of an earlier origin of the Covenant Code is greatly increased by the fact of the existence of the Code of Hammurabi and the close relationship between it and the Covenant Code. As C. H. W. Johns reminds us, "it has been calculated that out of forty-five or possibly fifty-five judgments preserved in this old Hebrew law [viz., the Covenant Code], thirty-five have points of contact with the Hammurabi Code, and quite half are parallel."<sup>1</sup> When the character of the resemblances is noted, it seems scarcely possible to escape the conclusion that the Covenant Code was strongly influenced by the Babylonian Code.<sup>2</sup> The most natural way to account for this is by the supposition that Canaanitish civilization was organized on the basis of the Code of Hammurabi. Thus in learning the civilization of Canaan, the Hebrews would be at once and continually brought into contact with some form of the Code of Hammurabi. Much of the Covenant Code therefore was lifted bodily out of a Canaanized Babylonian code and transplanted into Hebrew legislation. When was this done? It is hardly likely that the borrowing was delayed for from three to five hundred years after the first Hebrew settlement in Canaan. If delayed so long, why was recourse had to it at length? What special conditions or events made it advisable or necessary at a later date? Is it not rather true that the learning of the law in force in Canaan would begin the moment the process of acquiring Canaanitish civilization

<sup>1</sup> *The Relations between the Laws of Babylonia and the Laws of the Hebrew People* (1914), p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> See C. H. W. Johns, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-62.

began and would continue until the law and the civilization alike had become a native possession of the Hebrew race? The only step remaining would be that of Hebraicizing the law, that of freeing it from anti-Yahwistic and anti-Hebraic elements and of adapting it to the changing standards of Hebrew life. This may well be conceived of as having been begun very early and as having gone on even while the Hebrews were in the process of acquiring their new manner of life. In any case, the laws of Hammurabi were ready at hand in Canaan and would hasten rather than hinder the process of the growth of Hebrew law.

If we put Moses and the Covenant Code alike at an early date, we might well suppose that the appearance of monotheism in Israel might be placed earlier also. But here we have a very definite guide. The idea of God reflected in the traditions regarding Samuel, Saul, and David remains the same wherever we place Moses and whatever we may assign to him. There is not the faintest suggestion of monotheism in the thought of the Davidic age (cf. I Sam. 26:19 f.). The process of developing monotheism from a folk-religion is necessarily very slow. In fact a pure monotheism has never yet sprung from such a source. As Wundt has pointed out in his *Völkerpsychologie*,<sup>1</sup> the religion of Israel is the *only* one to have developed monotheism directly from the folk-religion—elsewhere it came from philosophy or the speculations of an esoteric priesthood—and even in Israel there grew up alongside of the monotheistic God a host of good and bad angels or demons who took the place of the older inferior gods. There never was an *absolute* monotheism in Israel. Indeed, it is doubtful whether such has developed anywhere outside of limited philosophic circles. This general condition emphasizes the fact that the development toward monotheism in Israel must have been slow, even as elsewhere. The probability that the Mosaic contribution to Hebrew religion should go much farther back in time than it is usually placed has the decided advantage of yielding a much longer period of time in which to lay the foundations of monotheistic thought in Israel. It gives room for the gradual unfolding of the slowly developing religious consciousness, a process in which time is one of the most important factors.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. II, III (1909), p. 642.

A recognition of the fact that Hebrews were in Canaan continuously from at least 1400 B.C. on to 1200 B.C. carries in its train, as we have seen, these three important questions: First, are we not placing the first literature and legislation of the Hebrews at altogether too late a date? Secondly, what influence did the pre-Mosaic Hebrews' residence in Canaan, long or short as the case may be, have upon the fortunes and the progress of the Hebrews who came later, in the days of Moses? Third, what place may rightfully be assigned to Moses in the history of Hebrew religion? Confronted with the alternative of minimizing Moses or minimizing the influence of those who preceded Moses, where shall we find a way of escape? These are questions which, for the present at least, it is, perhaps, easier to ask than to answer.

## A LETTER OF RIM-SIN

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In the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXXIII (1911), 221 f., Langdon published "a letter of Rim-Sin, king of Larsa . . . the first document of the kind hitherto known from that king." Unfortunately Langdon's reading of the second element of the name Rim-Sin (<sup>ilu</sup>*ri-im* <sup>ilu</sup>*sin*) is questioned by Ungnad<sup>1</sup> who collated the published text with the original and found "that the sign after *ilu* looks very much like *an*," and that "upon this follow traces of *zu*." Ungnad thinks that *an-zu* might have been written for *en-zu* (= *sin*), or that the name may have to be read Rim-Anum. Neither did Ungnad find *bé-li-šu* ("his lord") after the name of the sender of the letter, whoever he was. It remains an open question, therefore, whether the letter published by Langdon is to be assigned to Rim-Sin.

The letter of Rim-Sin here published is damaged in a number of places, which renders difficult the determination of the syntactical relation of some of the clauses and necessitates an undesirable number of interrogation marks in the translation offered.

CONTENTS.—The king gives instructions to an official, Rim-ash, in the case of a dispute between two men, one of whom had "diminished" the field of the other. Rim-ash is to take the testimony of the plaintiff, have him take oath by the king, and decide the case.

TRANSLITERATION.—<sup>1</sup> [a-na] <sup>ilu</sup>*ri-im-aš* <sup>2</sup> [ki]-be-[ma] <sup>3</sup> [u]m-  
*ma* <sup>ilu</sup>*ri-im-<sup>ilu</sup>sin-[ma]* <sup>4</sup> <sup>ilu</sup>*šamaš li-ba-al-l[i-iš-ka]* <sup>5</sup> *aš-šum ekil*  
<sup>m</sup>*a-ḫu-šu-nu* <sup>6</sup> *ša m a-bu-um-ili iš-šu-r[u-š]ú* <sup>7</sup> *ša-ad-da-aḫ-di-im*  
<sup>m</sup>*a-bu-um-ili* <sup>8</sup> *eklam(lam) iš-s[i]-šum* <sup>9</sup> *iš-bi-ir . . . šú(?)*  
*tu(?) il-gi-ma* <sup>10</sup> <sup>m</sup>*a-ḫu-šu-nu pi-šu u-ul i-pu-zu-um* <sup>11</sup> *ša-at-t[a*  
*šua]tu mi-ik-[sa]-am* <sup>12</sup> *im-ḫu-ur* <sup>13</sup> *iš-s[i]-šu[m . . i]š-bi-ir-ma*  
<sup>14</sup> *i-nu(?) -ma(?) [a-n]a e-ri-ši-im* <sup>15</sup> *ga-zu [iš-ta-k]a-nu(?)* <sup>16</sup> <sup>m</sup>*a-*

<sup>1</sup> *Babylonische Briefe aus der Zeit der Hammurapi Dynastie*, p. 3.

hu-š[ú-nu i]l-li-ik-ma <sup>17</sup> dš-šum <sup>m</sup>[a-b]u-um-ili i-[n]a ni-ig-ni-ri-im  
<sup>18</sup> zu (?) -ha-ri-šú [eklam (?)] uš-di <sup>19</sup> ú a-na eklim [e]-ri-ši-im  
<sup>20</sup> ga-zu [iš-ta]-ka-an <sup>21</sup> <sup>m</sup>a-hu-šú-nu l[i-ša]-ni-ik-ku-ma <sup>22</sup> ni-iš  
 šar-ri-im i-na pi-šú šú-ku-un-ma <sup>23</sup> . . . i-ta - . . . ma eklam(lam)  
<sup>24</sup> i-[ba]-ag-ga-ar-šú

TRANSLATION.—To Rim-ash speak: Thus saith Rim-Sin: May Shamash grant thee life. In the matter of the field of Ahushunu which Abumili diminished for him: Last year Abumili asked the field of him, he gathered the harvest, . . . he took, and Ahushunu did not open his mouth to him (i.e., made no complaint). This year he received rent. He (Abumili) asked the field of him, he gathered the harvest, and then, when he set(?) his hand to plant the field, Ahushunu came (to make complaint). How (that) Abumili had wickedly allowed (caused) his servants to neglect the field(?), and then had set(?) his hand to plant the field, let Ahushunu tell thee. Lay the oath by the king in his mouth, he shall . . . he shall have a claim against him in the matter of the field.

## NOTES

L. 1. Unfortunately the upper right-hand corner of the tablet is broken off. This causes some uncertainty as to the reading of the second element of the name of the addressee, who was evidently one of the king's high officials and may have held a position similar to that of Sin-idinnam under Hammurabi. The element *ash* is found in proper names; cf. *Ash-kudum* (Ranke, *Personal Names*, p. 67) and *Dingir-ash* (Chiera, *Legal and Administrative Documents*, p. 86). Note especially the determinative *ilu* before this name.

Ll. 5 and 6. *Ahušunu, Abumili*: Both these names occur on a tablet containing a list of 74 *šāb barrāni* (Chiera, *op. cit.*, No. 94, Col. II, 7, and Col. II, 23). While undated, this document evidently falls within or near the reign of Rim-Sin. Perhaps the litigants of our letter are these same *šāb-barrāni*. *iššurušu*: cf. KB, VI<sup>1</sup>, 278 and 288, *iššur eklu išpikēšu*; also *ana šē našdri*, Ungnad, *op. cit.*, No. 232, 9; *šē'am mala innašru*, *ibid.*, No. 252, 10. In our letter the sense seems to be "diminished the yield of the field."

Ll. 8 and 13. *išši*: In both cases the second sign is rubbed, but that it is *ši* seems certain.

L. 9. The sign before *il* might be *ŠE-BA*, *ŠE-BAR*, or *tu*.

Ll. 15 and 20. *ga-zu* seems certain in both lines. L. 20 seems to end in *ka-an*. The translation is based on a restoration *ištakan*. This would call for *kāta šakānu* instead of the common idiom *kāta wabālu*.

L. 17. *nignirim*: cf. Brussels Vocabulary (*Rev. d'Assyriologie*, X, 69 f.), Col. II, 11, where *NIG-NE-RU* (*nig-erim*) is glossed *ni-ig-ni-ru*. Here the Sumerian is used as a loan-word, instead of *raggu*.

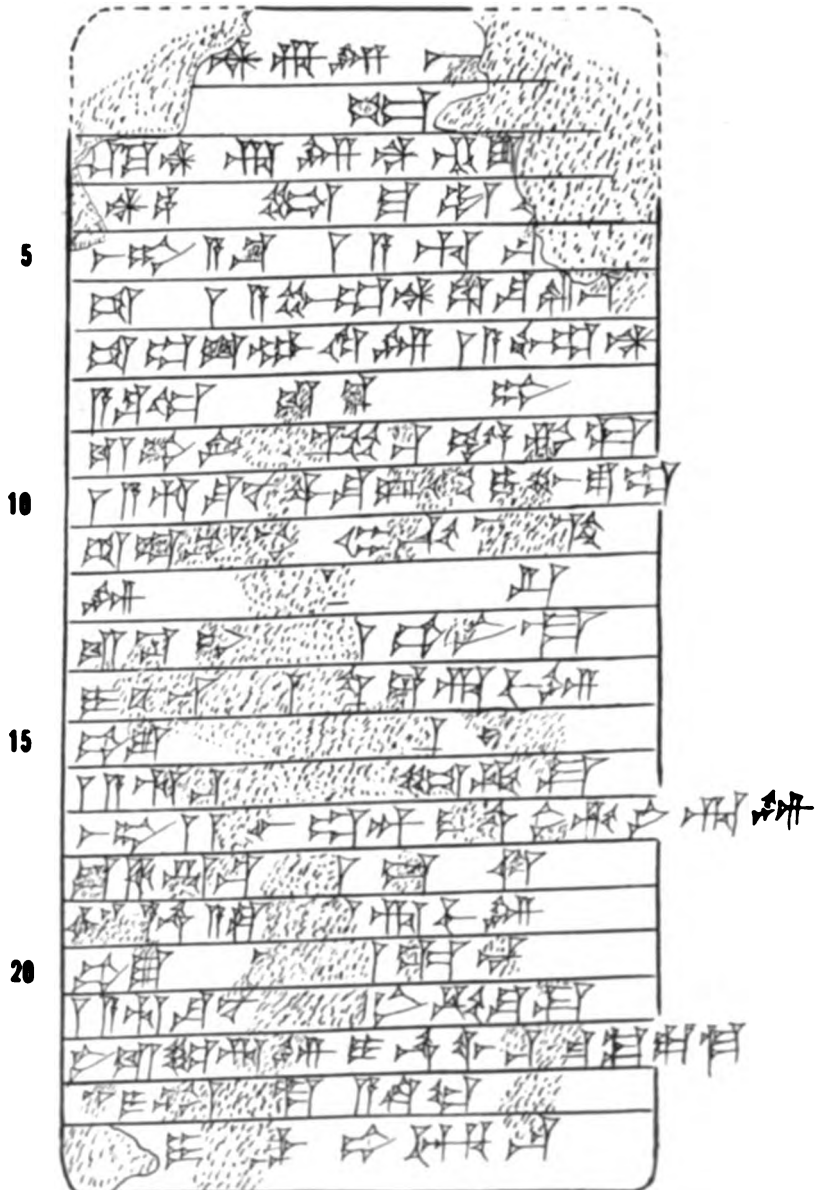


L. 18. The first sign is doubtful. The restoration and translation of this line are based upon Gautier, *Archives d'une famille de Dilbat*, No. 97, 6 f., *zuḥarišu eklam ana erišim la tušadā*, translated by Ungnad (*op. cit.*, p. 139), "seine Gehilfen sollt ihr das Feld nicht zum Bewirtschaften fortgeben lassen." Ungnad marks the translation of *tušadā* as doubtful. *ušdi*, III from *nadū*, like *ušziz* from *naḏāzu*, which is found as early as the Code of Hammurabi.

L. 22. There seems to have been another sign before *i-la-*.

100

## 1



## NEW INSCRIPTIONS OF NABUNA'ID

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In my *Neu-Babylonische Königsinschriften*, pp. 242-51, I attempted to restore the badly damaged cylinder K. 1688=I Raw. 69 by means of parallel passages and a few collations made for me by Dr. King, of the British Museum. This cylinder, written in the tenth year of this reign, i.e., 546 B.C.,<sup>1</sup> is remarkable as the only example of a document composed by re-editing several long inscriptions in unrelated connection and with a distinct religious object in view.<sup>2</sup> The scheme of the author appears to consist in redacting four cylinders which gave an account of the rebuilding of two temples of Shamash in Sippar<sup>3</sup> and Larsa,<sup>4</sup> and two of Anunit in Agade and Sippar-Anunit.<sup>5</sup> After each redaction the scribe adds a prayer that Shamash or Anunit (i.e., Ishtar) may appear as intercessor for the king in the presence of the moon-god. This tendency to exalt the moon-god Sin to the first place in the pantheon is characteristic of the state religion in the reign of Nabuna'id. The scribe knew that, in view of the inscriptions at his disposal, he was adding no new historical facts to the literature of his period. For the rebuilding of each temple he himself states that he copied from records in Larsa, Sippar, and Agade. And we have cylinders from two cities to control his statements. Thus in col. I, 1-35 he reproduces a Sippar cylinder concerning the rebuilding of Ebarra to the sun-god. But the prayer in col. I, 22b-35 is wholly different from that attached to the original Sippar records.<sup>6</sup> Here the scribe seems particularly anxious to secure the protection of Sin for the prince regent Belshazzar.<sup>6</sup> In fact

<sup>1</sup> See col. I, 60 and note I, 7. For dates of Nabuna'id 556-39, see Weissbach, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1914, 1188.

<sup>2</sup> See *Neu-Bab. Königsinschriften* (= *VAB.*, IV, 13).

<sup>3</sup> Rebuilt in the third year of his reign.

<sup>4</sup> Rebuilt in the tenth year of his reign.

<sup>5</sup> *VAB.*, IV, Nbn. 1, II, 47-III, 21; Nbn. 6.

<sup>6</sup> The prayers on this cylinder are based upon the one attached to the cylinder recording the building of the stage tower of the temple of Sin in Ur, *VAB.*, IV, Nbn. 5.

this is the real motive which inspired this curious composition. From our point of view even the damaged contents of I Raw. 69 were of extraordinary interest, showing us the astronomical influences which were permeating popular religion, and the growing anxiety of the king to pass the crown of an insecure dynasty to his son Belshazzar, and incidentally enabling us to complete our knowledge of lost originals.<sup>1</sup> For all these reasons a complete restoration of this tablet was of prime importance for the history and literature of Babylonia. In Vol. XXXIV of *Cuneiform Texts* Dr. King has published on Plates 26-37 a complete duplicate of this text; a three-column barrel cylinder whose contents, save for a damaged spot in col. I, are well preserved. At the same time Dr. King published on Plates 23-25 fragments of a six-sided prism, badly damaged it is true, but a duplicate of the two cylinders now in our possession. The prism carries just those lines needed to restore the cylinders. We have, therefore, the following splendid text of  $70+78+81=229$  lines. The curators of the British Museum have now permitted me to collate I Raw. 69; the results are given at the end of this article. The major text, BM. 104738 = CT., 34, 26-37, I designate by A. The prism, BM. 63713 = CT., 34, 23-25, I designate by B. The cylinder K. 1688 will be referred to by Nbn. 4 or I Raw. 69. For an analysis of the contents see VAB., IV, 48.

This document will notably enrich the sources of this reign. And we may expect also an important text from Professor Scheil, who mentions a new text of Nabuna'id in his *Esarhaddon*, p. 29. Here in the few lines given by Scheil the king shows anxiety for his daughter, whom he named *Bêl-šalṭi-Nannar*, "The god of the new-moon is lord of victory."<sup>2</sup>

The transcription follows the system in my *Sumerian Grammar*.

Col. I 1 é-bâr-ra bîl ilu šamši ša sippar-(ki) 2 ša ilu Nabu-kudurri-uṣur šar babili-(ki) šarru maḥ-ri 3 bîti šu-a-tim<sup>3</sup> id-ku-'i-ma 4 te-me-en-šu la-bé-ri la ik-šu-du 5 é-bâr-ra šu-a-tim i-pu-uš-ma 6 a-na ilu šamši

<sup>1</sup> This text is our only source for Eulmash of Agade.

<sup>2</sup> Several important cylinders of Nebuchadnezzar and Nabuna'id have been acquired for the collections in Philadelphia and New Haven, most of which I have seen during my visit to America in 1912. The publication of these texts should not be delayed.

<sup>3</sup> We have here an example of an antecedent drawn into the relative clause.

be-lt-šū id-di-in. 7 i-na 52 šanāti<sup>1</sup> ša bīli šu-a-tum i-ga-ra-tu-šu 8 i-ku-  
pa-a-ma il-li-ku la-ba-ri-iš. 9 ia-a-ti <sup>11u</sup> Nabu-na'id<sup>2</sup> šar bābili-(ki) 10 [za-  
ni-in] é-sag-ila ù é-zi-da ina pal-e-a<sup>3</sup> ki-nim 11 [ša <sup>11u</sup> sin ù <sup>11u</sup> šamaš]  
i-ram-mu é-bār-ra šu-a-ti 12 [ad-ki-e-ma hi-iṭ-ṭa-at]-su aḥ-ṭu-uṭ te-me-en-šu  
la-bi-ri 13 [ša Šarru-kin<sup>4</sup> maḥ-ri i-pu-]šu a-mur-m<sup>a</sup> eli te-me-en-na  
14 [Šarru-kin<sup>4</sup> i-pu-uš-šu ubana la a-ši-e] ubana la e-ri-bi 15 [uš-šu-šu  
ad-di-ma u-kin li-ib-na]-at-su. 16 [gušurē <sup>11u</sup> erini<sup>5</sup> ḡi-ru-tum tar-bīt  
<sup>ada</sup> ḡa-ma]-nu<sup>7</sup> B23 [ù <sup>ma</sup> kal-dā a-na ḡu-<sup>8</sup>]lu-li-šu ú-šat-ri-iṣ B24  
[<sup>11u</sup> dalāti] <sup>11u</sup> liṣari ša i-ri-is-si-na B25 [a-bi iḡ-zi<sup>9</sup>] kaspi ib-bi ù  
B26 [erū nam-ru u-ša]-al-bi-iš-ma B27 [e-ma bābāni-šu u-ra]-at-la.  
[é-bār-ra šu-a-tim<sup>10</sup> 20 šī-pir-šu ú-šak-lil-ma bīli ki-ma ú-mu ú-nam-mir-ma  
21 a-na balaṭ napšāti-ia sa-ka-pu <sup>ame</sup> nakiri-ia 22 a-na <sup>11u</sup> šamaš bēli-ia  
lu-u a-ki-iš <sup>11u</sup> šamaš bēlu rabu-ú 23 ú-mi-šam-mu la na-pār-ka' i-na idi  
<sup>11u</sup> sin 24 abi a-li-di-ka dam-ka-a-ti é-sag-ila 25 é-zi-da é-ḡiṣ-šir-gal  
é-bār-ra é-an-na 26 é-ul-maš šu-bal ilu-ú-ti-šu-nu rabi-ti 27 liš-ša-kin  
šap-tuk-ka ki-ma šami-e išdāti-šu-nu li-ki-nu 28 ù pu-luḡ-ti <sup>11u</sup> sin bēl  
ilāni ù <sup>11u</sup> iṣ-tar<sup>11</sup> 29 i-na ša-ma-mu lib-bi nišē-šu šu-uš-ki-na-a-ma]  
30 ai ir-šā-a<sup>12</sup> an bi-ṭi-ti iš-da-šu-nu li-kun-nu.<sup>13</sup> 31 ia-a-ti <sup>11u</sup> Nabu-na'id  
šar bābili-(ki) 32 pa-liḡ ilu-ú-ti-ku-nu ra-bi-ti 33 la-li-e ba-la-ṭu lu-uš-  
bi<sup>14</sup> 34 ù ša <sup>11u</sup> Bel-šarri-uṣur māru reš-tu-ú ḡi-l lib-bi-ia 35 šu-ri-ku  
amē-šu ai ir-šā' bi-ṭi-tum.

36 ša eli <sup>aban</sup> a-su-mil-tum ša sippar-(ki)

<sup>1</sup> This account of the restoration of this temple given in the cylinder (Nbn. 1) states that only forty-five years had intervened between the restoration by Nebuchadnezzar and that of Nabuna'id. See Nbn. 1, II, 51. The figures in Nbn. 1 are supported by several variants. Also the figures 52 here are supported by CT., 34, 23, 6, hence a discrepancy of seven years between these two sources of Nabuna'id. This is accounted for by the fact that Nbn. 1 was written in the third year of this reign (see Nbn. 1, I, 28) and our text in the tenth year (see below line 60 and Nbn. 4, I, 65). For the expression *ina šalulti šatti ina kašadu*, VAB., IV, 220, 28; see also CT., 15, 49, I, 7, 11, and Dhorme, *Choix de textes*, p. 128.

<sup>2</sup> IM-TUK. Var. B has I (=na'id), col. I, 9.

<sup>3</sup> Var. B, I, 11, *pa-li-e-a ki-i-nim*.

<sup>4</sup> LUGAL-DU.

<sup>5</sup> B mu-ur.

<sup>6</sup> Supplied on B, I, 22 from Nbn. 1, III, 1; 2, I, 22; 6, II, 3. Like 2, I, 22, our scribe refrains from stating the number of cedar beams used for this building. Nbn. 1, III, 1 gives the number as 5,000 and 6, II, 3 has 1,050. The discrepancy is probably due to the fact that 1, III, 1 includes in its statement the whole number of beams of all kinds of wood.

<sup>7</sup> At this point A has a long break; the lines now follow the numbering on B.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Nbn. 2, I, 23.

<sup>9</sup> Traces of ZI on B, 25; cf. VAB., IV, 158, 40 and for line B, 26 see Nbn. 4, I, 1.

<sup>10</sup> The restorations from B, 23-27 would amount to about four lines on A, hence this was probably the end of line 19 on A. From here we follow Nbn. No. 4 = I Raw. 69.

<sup>11</sup> Certain on I R, 69 and see line 38 below.

<sup>12</sup> An energetic plural.

<sup>13</sup> This is the first legible line after the break on A. Dr. King numbered this line 34, in which he estimated too much for the broken section.

<sup>14</sup> Here Nbn. 4 has a break.

37 é-bâr-ra bit <sup>ilu</sup>šamaš šà larsa-(ki)<sup>1</sup> šà ú-mu ru-ku-ú-ti 38 <sup>ilu</sup>sin  
 šar šà ilāni bēl ilāni ù <sup>ilat</sup>iš-tar 39 a-ši-bu-ut šà šami-e ù ir-ši-tim e-li  
 āli 40 ù bti šà-a-šu<sup>2</sup> is-bu-su-ma ši-pik ba-aš-ši rabūti 41 e-li-šu iš-šap-  
 ku-ma la in-nam-ru 42 ki-iš-ši-šu i-na pal-e <sup>ilu</sup>Nabu-kudurri-ušur 43 šar  
 bābili-(ki) šarri maḥ-ri a-lik maḥ-ri-ja 44 mar <sup>ilu</sup>Nabu-apal-ušur šar  
 bābili-(ki) 45 i-na ki-bi<sup>3</sup> <sup>ilu</sup>sin ù <sup>ilu</sup>šamaš bēl-ē-šu 46 it-bu-nim-ma  
 ša-a-ri ir-bit-ti me-ḥi-e rabūti 47 ba-aš-ši šà e-li āli ù bti šu-a-tim<sup>4</sup> kat-mu  
 48 in-na-si-iḥ-ma ḥi-iḥ-ta-tum iḥ-tu-uḥ-ma 49 te-me-en-na é-bâr-ra šà  
 Bur-na-bur-ia-āš 50 šar pa-na-a a-lik maḥ-ri-šu<sup>5</sup> i-pu-šu 51 i-mur-ma  
 e-li te-me-en-na (ša) Bur-na-bur-ia-āš 52 ubāna la a-ḥi-e ubāna la e-ri-bi  
 53 uš-šū é-bâr-ra é-bâr-ra šu-a-tim id-di a-na mu-ušab 54 <sup>ilu</sup>šamšu bēlu  
 rabu-ú ù <sup>ilat</sup>a-a kal-lat na-ram-ti-šu 55 bīlam i-pu-uš-ma ú-šak-lil ši-pir<sup>6</sup>-šū.  
 56 <sup>ilu</sup>šamšu be-lum ra-bu-ú 57 ḫir-ba-šu ú-šar-ma-a šub-tum.<sup>7</sup>

58 ja-a-ti <sup>ilu</sup>Nabu-na'id šar bābili-(ki) 59 za-nin é-sag-ila ù é-zi-da  
 60 i-na-an-na i-na šatti 10-kam ina pal-e-a<sup>8</sup> ki-nim 61 šà <sup>ilu</sup>sin ù  
<sup>ilu</sup>šamaš i-ram<sup>9</sup>-mu <sup>ilu</sup>šamšu bēlu rabu-ú 62 iḥ-su-us-su<sup>10</sup>-ma šu-bal-su  
 ri-eš-ti-ti 63 i-na šu-ul-ti šà a-mu-ru ù nišē i-tam<sup>11</sup>-ma-ru-ni 64 a-na eli  
 te-me-en-na é-bâr-ra la-bi-ri šu-a-tū 65 é-bâr-ra a-na aš-ri-šū<sup>12</sup> tūr-ru šu-bal  
 ḫu-ub lib-bi-šū 66 ú-ma'-ir-an-ni. ja-a-ši na-aḥ-lap-tum zig-gur-rat  
 67 e-li-tū ap-pa-lis-ma ú-šad-kam-ma nišē ma-du-tum 68 li-mi-tum bit  
 zig-gur-rat šu-a-tum imni šumēli 69 pa-ni ù arki aḥ-ḫu-uḥ-ma é-bâr-ra  
 70 a-di si-ḫir-ti-šū a-mur-ma ši-ḫir šu-um

Col. II 1 šà Ḥa-am-mu-ra-bi šarri maḥ-ri a-lik maḥ-ri-ja 2 (ki-rib-  
 šū ap-pa-lis-ma)<sup>13</sup> 700 šanāti la-am Bur-na-bur-ia-āš 3 é-bâr-ra ù zig-gur-  
 ra-tum e-li te-me-en-na 4 la-bi-ri é-bâr-ra a-na <sup>ilu</sup>šamši i-pu-šu 5 ḫir-  
 ba-šu ap-pa-lis-ma iḥ-di lib-bi 6 im-mi-ru zi-mu-ú-a 7 é-bâr-ra e-li  
 te-me-en-na Ḥa-am-mu-ra-bi 8 šarri maḥ-ri ubāna la a-ḥi-e ubāna la e-ri-bi  
 9 uš-šū-šū ad-di-ma ú-kin li-iḥ-na-at-su 10 é-bâr-ra eš-šiš e-pu-uš-ma<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> First line after break on Nbn. 4. Only 3 lines are completely gone on the cylinder I Raw. 69. The broken passage is estimated five times too high (16 lines) in the text publication of Rawlinson.

<sup>2</sup> Note here the circumlocution to avoid the 'd'idun or retrospective construction with the relative *ša*, whose retrospective pronoun should be governed by a preposition. On the analogy of other Semitic languages we expect *ša . . . e-li-ša-a-šu-nu*, "against which." Cf. Wright, *Arabic Grammar*, 323 C. Babylonian avoids the 'd'idun governed by a preposition by repeating the antecedent or its equivalent. With line 40, variant B = CT., 34, 24, II, 1 again sets in.

<sup>3</sup> Nbn. 4, I, 51, *ki-bi-iti*.

<sup>4</sup> Vars. *pa-li-e-a*.

<sup>5</sup> Var. IR. 69 *ša-a-šu*; cf. VAB., IV, 367.

<sup>6</sup> Var. A, *ra-am*.

<sup>7</sup> Var. IR. 69 *ia*.

<sup>8</sup> Var. B, II, 25 omits *su*.

<sup>9</sup> Both variants *pi-ir*.

<sup>10</sup> Var. B, *ta-am*.

<sup>11</sup> A, II, 20, *tū*.

<sup>12</sup> This is the last legible word on B, II.

<sup>13</sup> These two words are wrongly placed here and are repeated in their proper position in line 5. *ša* has been dropped out at the beginning of line 2. The text is a redaction of Nbn. 3, II, 20-26.

<sup>14</sup> Var. Nbn. 4, II, 11 omits *ma*.

ú-šak-lil-ši-pir-šù 11 gušurē<sup>1</sup> erini ši-ru-tum tar-bīt<sup>2</sup> ada ha-ma-nu 12 a-na  
 su-lu-li-šù ú-šat-ri-iš<sup>3</sup> dalāti<sup>4</sup> lišaru 13 ša i-ri-is-si-na la-a-bi e-ma  
 bābāni-šù ú-rat-ti 14 bitu šu-a-tum e-pu-uš<sup>5</sup> ki-ma ú-mu ú-nam-mir-ma  
 15 a-na<sup>6</sup> šamšu bēlu rabu-ú bēli-ja a-na balaš napšāti-ja 16 sa-kap  
 (amel) nakri-ja lu e-pu-uš<sup>7</sup> šamšu bēlu ra-bu-u 17 ú-mi-šam-ma<sup>8</sup> la  
 na-pār-ka-<sup>9</sup> i-na ma-ḥar<sup>10</sup> sin 18 a-bi a-li-di-ka i-na ni-ip-ḥi ú-ri-bi  
 19 dam-ḫa-a-ti é-sag-ila é-zi-da 20 é-giš-šir-gal é-bār-ra é-an-na é-ul-maš  
 21 šu-bat ilu-ú-ti-ku-nu rabāti<sup>11</sup> lis-šā-kin šap-tuk-ka 22 ki-ma šami-e  
 iš-da-šu-nu li-kun-nu<sup>12</sup> 23 ja-a-ti<sup>13</sup> Nabu-na'id šar bābili-(ki) pa-liḫ ilu-u-  
 ti-ku-nu rabt-tū 24 la-li-e ba-la-ṭi lu-uš-bi ú šā<sup>14</sup> Bēl-šarri-ušur 25 māru  
 reš-tu-ú ši-it lib-bi-ja 26 šu-ri-ku úmē-šù ai ir-ša-<sup>15</sup> ḥi-ṭi-ti.  
 27 ša eli aban a-su-mil-tum ša larsa-(ki)

28 te-me-en-na é-ul-maš šā a-ga-dé-(ki) 29 šā<sup>16</sup> ul-tu pa-ni Šarru-kin šar  
 bābili-(ki) 30 ú Na-ram-<sup>17</sup> sin māri-šù šarri šu-ut maḥ-ri 31 ú a-di  
 pa-li-e<sup>18</sup> Nabu-na'id šar bābili-(ki) 32 la in-nam-ru Ku-ri-gal-zu šar  
 bābili-(ki) 33 šarru šu-ut maḥ-ri ú-ba-<sup>19</sup> i-ma 34 te-me-en-na é-ul-maš la  
 ik-šu-ud 35 ki-a-am iš-ṭur-ma iš-kun um-ma te-me-en-na 36 é-ul-maš  
 ú-ba-<sup>20</sup> i-ma ad-lul-ma la ak-šu-ud 37<sup>21</sup> Ašur-aḫi-iddin šar ma<sup>22</sup> aššur u  
 Ašur-bāni-apli māra-šù 38 šā<sup>23</sup> sin šar ilāni kiš-šat mātāti ú-šal-li-  
 mu-šu-nu-ti-ma 39 te-me-en-na é-ul-maš ú-ba-<sup>24</sup> u la ik-šu-du-<sup>25</sup> u 40 iš-  
 ṭu-ru-ma iš-ku-nu um-ma 41 é-ul-maš šu-a-ti ú-ba-<sup>26</sup> ma 42 la ak-šu-ud  
 i<sup>27</sup> ṣar-ba-tum ú i<sup>28</sup> maš-tu-ú 43 ak-šit-ma te-me-e é-ul-maš 44 lu-ú e-pu-  
 uš-ma a-na<sup>29</sup> ištār<sup>30</sup> a-ga-dé-(ki) beltu rabt-tu belli-ja 45 lu-ú ad-di-in  
 Nabu-kudurri-ušur šar bābili-(ki) 46 mār<sup>31</sup> Nabu-apal-ušur šarri maḥ-ri  
 um-ma-ni-šù 47 ma-du-tum id-kam-ma te-me-en é-ul-maš šu-a-tū 48 ú-  
 ba-<sup>32</sup> i-ma id-lul-ma iḫ-ṭu-ut-ma 49 iš-pil<sup>33</sup> ma te-me-en-na é-ul-maš la ik-šu-ud.  
 50 ja-a-ti<sup>34</sup> Nabu-na'id šar bābili-(ki) 51 za-nin é-sag-ila ú é-zi-da 52 i-na  
 pal-e-a ki-nim ina pu-luḫ-tū šā<sup>35</sup> ištār<sup>36</sup> a-ga-dé-(ki) belli-ja 53 bi-ri ab-ri-  
 e-ma<sup>37</sup> šamaš ú<sup>38</sup> rammān 54 i-pu-lu-<sup>39</sup> in-ni an-na ki-i-ni 55 šā  
 ka-ša-du te-me-en-na é-ul-maš šu-a-ti 56 šēr dum-ki i-na<sup>40</sup> šēr bibbi<sup>41</sup> ja

<sup>1</sup> Var. Nbn. 4, II, 15 adds -ma.

<sup>5</sup> Var. li-kin; see also col. I, 27.

<sup>2</sup> Var. mu.

<sup>6</sup> Omitted on var.

<sup>3</sup> Var. šu. For line 23 IR. 69 has ilūtika.

<sup>7</sup> dingir innini.

<sup>4</sup> GAL-MEŠ.

<sup>8</sup> This appears to be preferable to *š-ne*, my reading in VAB., 246, 44. The preterite of this verb *šapālu* is not attested, but the present form *šappil* demands a preterite *špil*; see for *šappil*, Muss-Arnolt, *Lexicon*, 1083, where the permansive *šapil* is attested. On the other hand, a permansive *šapul* is well attested from the fem. sing. *ša-pu-lat*, CT., 28, 16, 82-3-23, 84, lines 11-13; CT., 27, 45, K. 4129, 24 f.; also K. 4071, 7 f. This corresponds to the Arabic *safula*, whereas the permansive *šapil* corresponds to Arabic *safla*, imp. *jašfil*. Hence we should expect also an imperfect *špul* to correspond to *šapul* perm. This verb has in Assyrian a double system: (1) *šapālu*, pret. *špil*, perm. *šapil*, pres. *šappil*, and (2) *šapul*, pret. *špul*, perm. *šapul*, pres. *šappul*.

<sup>9</sup> Nbn. 4, II, 51 should be corrected *ina* to *ina*.

<sup>10</sup> For this sign a form of *LU-BAD*, with *—* written within *LU*, see King, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, 292, 109; 306, 36; 380, n. 4; 311, n. 11.

iš<sup>1</sup>-kun 57 <sup>amel</sup>nišē-ja<sup>2</sup> ma-du-tum ú-ma'-ir-ma 58 a-na bu'-i le-me-en-na  
 é-ul-maš<sup>3</sup> šu-a-ti 59 šalaš-la šanāti ina hi-iš-ša-tum ša<sup>4</sup> <sup>ilu</sup>Nabu-kudurri-  
 ušur 60 šar bābili-(ki) aš-tu-uš<sup>5</sup> im-nu šu-me-li<sup>6</sup> pa-ni 61 ú ár-ku ú-ba'-  
 i-ma la ak-šu-ud 62 ki-a-am iḫ-bu-ni um-ma le-me-en-na šu-a-tū 63 nu-  
 ú-ba'-i-ma la ni-mur ra-a-du ša<sup>7</sup> mē zunni 64 iḫ-ba-ši-ma hi-pi iš-kun-ma  
 ni-mur-ma 65 ki-a-am ak-bi-šu-nu-ti 66 um-ma hi-iš-ša-tum ina hi-pi  
 šu-a-ti 67 hu-uš-ša-a-ma a-di le-me-en-na hi-pi 68 šu-a-ti ta-la-ma-ra'  
 69 hi-pi šu-a-ti aš-tu-um 70 le-me-en-na é-ul-maš ša<sup>8</sup> Na-ram-<sup>ilu</sup> sin  
 71 šarri maḫ-ri mu-šab <sup>ilat</sup>ištar<sup>9</sup> a-ga-dé-(ki) 72 <sup>ilat</sup>na-na-a <sup>ilat</sup>a-nu-ni-  
 tum ú ilāni šu-ul é-ul-maš 74 iḫ-šu-du-ma iḫ-bu-ni 75 iḫ-di lib-bi  
 im-mi-ru pa-nu-a 76 eli le-me-en-na é-ul-maš šu-a-ti 77 ubāna la a-ḡi-e  
 ubāna la e-ri-bi 78 le-me-en-na šu-a-ti di-'i-um<sup>7</sup> parakkū

Col. III 1 a-di šitta(la) zig-gur-ri-e-ti-šu 2 ad<sup>8</sup>-di-ma u-kin li-ib-  
 na-at-su. 3 ta-am-la' ú-mal-li-šu-ma 4 e-li pa-ni kaḫ-ḫar aš-kun-šu.  
 5 aš-šu la ma-še-e le-me-en-na é-ul-maš 6 é-ul-maš e-pu-uš-ma ú-šak-lil  
 ši-pir-šu 7 gušurrē <sup>isu</sup>erini ḡi-ru-tum tar-bīt <sup>mat</sup>ḡa-ma-nu 8 a-na ḡu-lu-  
 li-šu ú-šat-ri-iš <sup>isu</sup>dalāti <sup>isu</sup>liḡari 9 ša i-ri-is-si-na ḡa-a-bi ina bābāni-šu

<sup>1</sup> So also IR, 69, II, 51.

<sup>2</sup> Var. Nbn. 4, II, 51, <sup>amel</sup>gabē-ja, written GALU-ŠAB-ḪI-A.

<sup>3</sup> Var. IR. 69 omits.

<sup>4</sup> Var. IR. lu.

<sup>5</sup> Var. IR. adds -ma.

<sup>6</sup> <sup>ingr</sup>innini.

<sup>7</sup> <sup>dā</sup>, <sup>du</sup>u, <sup>di</sup>u, is a loan-word from Sumerian <sup>dā</sup>, "hill, high place," see *Sum. Gram-*  
*mar*, 210. The sign originally employed is the picture of a hill, or hill sanctuary (<sup>bamati</sup>,  
 𒂗𒍪). This is clearly the original meaning of the sign 𒂗𒍪, i.e., <sup>tilu</sup>, "hill,"  
 as in Eannatum, *Galet*, A, 3, 21. The loan-word may be written with <sup>dā</sup>=<sup>dā</sup> <sup>dā</sup> <sup>ili</sup>,  
 "high sanctuary of god," *CT*, 13, 11 b 11; or <sup>dā</sup>=<sup>sag</sup>ū, a synonym of <sup>du</sup>u, as in *PSBA.*,  
 1910, 118, line 10. In temples <sup>dā</sup> probably means the altar-like pedestal in the chapel  
 (<sup>papaḫu</sup>) on which stood the statue of a god. The part of the chapel in which stood this  
 "high altar" was called the *parakku*, shrine. Each temple had at least one <sup>papaḫu</sup> or  
 chapel for the god of that temple and one <sup>dā</sup> or high altar for his statue. But this chapel  
 had several shrines, *parakkē*; only the central shrine at the end of the chapel possessed a  
 high altar, or pedestal with degrees which probably resembled our high altars. [Of course  
 no animal sacrifices were permitted there and I use the word "altar" because of the prob-  
 able resemblance to our modern Christian conception of that term.] Esagila in Babylon  
 possessed at least three chapels, Ekua for Marduk, Kadugilsug for Zarpanit, and Ezida  
 for Nebo, and each possessed its high altar. Thus we read in the De Clercq cylinder of  
 Asurbanipal, how he completed Esagila, an undertaking begun by his father Asarhaddon;  
 na <sup>amē</sup>du-nu di'-a-ni u parakkē ša situti <sup>é</sup>sag-ila ki-i bamāti-šu labirali ina <sup>asri</sup>du-nu  
 lu-u ad-di ana šatti (II. 18-20), "In those days the high altars and the shrines which  
 remained of Esagila, even as its ancient high places in their places I founded forevermore."  
 Although the syllabars confound <sup>dā</sup>, <sup>di</sup>u, with *parakku*, yet they must be distinguished in  
 architectural descriptions. Thus *VAB.*, IV, 128, 57, and 158, 43 speak of the chapel  
 of Nebo in Ezida at Barsippa; du-ú parakkē kirbi-šu, "the high altar and the shrines in it,  
 i.e., in the <sup>papaḫu</sup> or chapel"; du-ú-um parakkē, "the high altar and shrines." And the  
 same chapel is described in *Neb.*, 44, p. 204; du-ú-um mūšab <sup>ilu</sup>nabium <sup>bēli</sup>ḡirim ina  
<sup>é</sup>šid-dū-an-na-ki <sup>papaḫi</sup>, "The high altar, seat of Nebo my mighty lord in E-šidduannaki  
 the chapel (of his lordship with pitch and burnt-brick I installed like a mountain." Of  
 special interest is *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler*, VI, 177; 300 <sup>gubāt</sup>a-si-ru a-na  
 dul-lu ša di-'i-ša <sup>bīti</sup>in-mar-bītīm, "Three hundred <sup>asiru</sup>-garments for the service of the  
 high altar of the temple of Mar-bītī."

<sup>8</sup> So read.



10 lu-uš-ziz bti šu-a-ti ki-ma ū-mu 11 ū-nam-mir-ma a-na <sup>ilat</sup> ištār<sup>1</sup>  
a-ga-dé-(ki) 12 belli rabī-ti belli-ja a-na balaṭ napšāti-ja 13 sa-kap  
amel nakri-ja lu-ū e-pu-uš. 14 <sup>ilat</sup> ištār a-ga-dé-(ki) bellu rabī-tum belli-ja  
15 i-na ma-ḥar <sup>ilu</sup> sin a-bi a-li-di-ka<sup>2</sup> 16 dam-ḫa-a-ti é-sag-ila é-zi-da  
17 é-giš-šir-gal é-bār-ra é-an-na é-ul-maš 18 šu-bat ilu-ū-ti-ku-nu rabāti  
liš-šā-kin šap-tuk-ka<sup>3</sup> 19 ki-ma šami-e iš-da-šu-nu li-kun-nu 20 ja-a-ti  
<sup>ilu</sup> Nabu-na'id šar bābili-(ki) 21 pa-liḫ ilu-ū-ti-ku-nu rabī-ti 22 la-li-e  
lu-uš-bi šā <sup>ilu</sup> Bēl-šarri-ušur māru reš-tu-u 23 ḡi-il lib-bi-ja šu-ri-ku ūmē-šū  
24 ai ir-šā-a ḫi-ṭi-ti

25 šā eli <sup>aban</sup> a-su-mit-tum šā a-ga-dé-(ki)

26 é-ul-maš šā sippar-(ki) <sup>ilat</sup> a-nu-ni-tum 27 šā <sup>ilu</sup> sin šar ilāni eli āli ū  
bti ša-a-šu 28 is-bu-su ū-šad-kam-ma <sup>ilu</sup> Sin-aḫē-erib šar mat dā-šur  
29 <sup>amel</sup> nakru za-ma-nu-ū āli ū bti šā-a-šū ū-šā-lik kar-mu-tam 30 i-na-  
an-na ja-a-ti <sup>ilu</sup> Nabu-na'id šar bābili-(ki) 31 za-nin é-sag-ila ū é-zi-da  
32 ina pal-e-a ki-nim šā <sup>ilu</sup> sin ū <sup>ilu</sup> šamaš i-ram-mu-uš 33 <sup>ilat</sup> a-nu-ni-  
tum bellum rabī-tum belli-ja a-ši-bal é-ul-maš 34 i-na<sup>4</sup> ki-bil <sup>ilu</sup> sin šar  
ilāni abi a-li-di-šū 35 a-na āli ū bti šu-a-tum tar-šu u-sa-li-mu 36 ina  
šutti i-na šat<sup>5</sup> mu-ši a-na e-piš é-ul-maš 37 tu-šab-ra-an-ni šu-ul-ti iḫ-di  
lib-bi 38 im-mi-ru zi-mu-ū-a ū-šad-kam-ma 39 <sup>amel</sup> ḡabē-[-a]<sup>6</sup> ma-du-tum  
te-me-en é-ul-maš šu-a-ti 40 aḫ-ṭu-uṭ-ma ḡal-mu šī-ṭir šāmi šā Ša-ga-rak-ti-  
šur-ja-aš 41 šar bābili-(ki) šarri maḫ-ri ina ḫi-il-ja-tum<sup>7</sup> šu-a-ti 42 a-mur-  
ma ki-i an-na-a 43 ina eli ḡal-mu šī-ṭir šāmi-šū šā-ṭir 44 um-ma Šā-ga-  
rak-ti-šur-ja-aš re'i ki-nim 45 rubā na-a-du mi-gir <sup>ilu</sup> šamaš ū <sup>ilat</sup> a-nu-ni-  
tum a-na-ku. 46 i-nu <sup>ilu</sup> šamaš ū <sup>ilat</sup> a-nu-ni-tum a-na be-lu-ul ma-a-ti<sup>8</sup>  
47 šu-um im-bu-ū ḡir-ri<sup>9</sup> ka-la nišē ka-tu-ū-a 48 uš-ma-al-lu-ū i-nu-šū  
é-bār-ra 49 bti <sup>ilu</sup> šamši šā sippar-(ki) bēli-ja ū é-ul-maš 50 bti <sup>ilat</sup> a-nu-  
ni-tum šā sippar-(ki) <sup>ilat</sup> a-nu-ni-tum belli-ja 51 šā iš-tu<sup>9</sup> za-bu-um<sup>10</sup> ina  
la-bar<sup>3</sup> ū-mu i-ga-ru-šū-nu 52 i-ḫu-up-ma i-ga-ri-šū-nu ag-gur<sup>4</sup> 53 uš-

<sup>1</sup> d. innini.

<sup>2</sup> Sic! Ishtar is addressed here, but the text has *ka* not *ki*.

<sup>3</sup> Here begins Nbn. 4, III, 15.

<sup>4</sup> *šat*, see for this phrase, "the of the night," *AJS.L.*, XXXI, 278.

<sup>5</sup> Probably omitted by the scribe who having written *ḫi-A* for the plural of *ŠAB* supposed he had written *A*, the possessive; cf. col. II, 57, and variant.

<sup>6</sup> The singular is demanded by *šuatī*; var. *ḫi-iṭ-ja-a-ti*, which must be considered as fem. sing. despite the long vowel *-āti*. For *ātu*, fem. sing., cf., *ša-m-ḫa-a-ti*, acc. sing., *KB.*, VI, 138, 40; *aš-ja-a-tu*, fem. sing., *V.R.*, 12, No. 3, 9; *ir-ḡi-e-ti rapadti* (*irḡēti = irḡēti = irḡātu*), *KB.*, VI, 78, 17; and other examples cited by Jensen, *KB.*, VI, 37, 6.

<sup>7</sup> Var. Nbn. 4, III, 25, *KUR = mātī*.

<sup>8</sup> Var. *ḡi-ri-ti*; *ḡirritu* generally means the cord passed through the nose of a captive by which his captor led him. Sum. *šū-ka*, "cord of the face, *ālu ša pani*," *SAI.*, 8012, and Thureau-Dangin, *J.A.*, 1909, 86. A synonym is *šummanu*, "nose cord," not "fetter," as in the lexicons.

<sup>9</sup> Var. *ul-tu*.

<sup>10</sup> This text omits the determinative of person. Here sets in Var. B, col. V, *CT.*, 34, 25.

<sup>11</sup> Both vars. *la-ba-ru*.

<sup>12</sup> Vars. *aḫ-ḫu-ur*.

ši<sup>1</sup>-šū-nu e-ib-tu<sup>2</sup> e-pi-ri-šū-nu as-suḫ<sup>3</sup> 54 parakkt<sup>4</sup>-šū-nu aṣ-ṣur ú-ṣu-ra-ti-  
 šū-nu u-sal-lim 55 uš-mal-lu uš-ši-šū-nu e-pi-ri kiš<sup>5</sup> u-tir 56 i-ga-ri-šū-nu  
 a-na aš-ri-šū-nu ú-nam-mir 57 tabra<sup>6</sup>-ta-šū-nu e-li pa-ni ú-šd-tir 58 a-na  
 ša-at-ti<sup>7</sup> ilu šamaš u ilu a-nu-ni-tum a-na ip-še-ti-ia 59 šu-ṣu-ra-a-ti lib-ba-  
 ku-nu li-iḫ-du-ma li-ri-ku ú-mē-ia<sup>8</sup> 60 li-id-di-šū balaṭi ú-mu ri-šd-a-tū arḫu  
 ta-ši-la-a-ti 61 šanāti ḫegalli a-na ši-riḫ-ti<sup>9</sup> liš-ru-ku-nu 62 di-in<sup>9</sup> kit-ti  
 mi-šd-ri laḫ-ba-a ú sa-li-mu 63 li-šab-šū-ma ma-ti-ma.

an-na-a ši-ṣir šāmi šd Ša-ga-rak-ti-šur-ia-aš 64 šar bābili-(ki) šarri  
 maḫ-ri šd é-ul-maš šd sippar<sup>10</sup>-(ki) 65 <sup>ilat</sup> a-nu-ni-tum i-pu-šū te-me-en-šū  
 la-bi-ri ap-pa-tis-ma 66 ubāna la a-ṣi-e ubāna la e-ri-bi eli te-me-en-na  
 la-bi-ri 67 uš-šū-šū ad-di-ma ú-kin libna<sup>11</sup>-at-su é-ul-maš ši-pir-šū ú-šak-  
 lil-ma 68 ki-ma ú-mu ú-nam-mir-ma a-na <sup>ilat</sup> a-nu-ni-tum belli rabt-ti belli-ia  
 69 a-na balaṭ napšāti-ia sa-kap <sup>amel</sup> nakri-ia lu-ú e-pu-uš

70 <sup>ilat</sup> a-nu-ni-tum bellu rabt-tū<sup>12</sup> ina ma-ḫar<sup>13</sup> ilu sin abi a-li-di-ka  
 71 damḫāti é-sag-ila é-zi-da é-ḡiš-šir-gal é-bār-ra é-an-na 72 é-ul-maš šu-  
 bat ilū-ti-ku-nu<sup>14</sup> rabt-ti liš-šd-kin šap-tuk-ka ki-ma šami-e 73 išda<sup>15</sup>-šū-nu  
 li-kun-nu u pu-luḫ-ti <sup>ilu</sup> sin bēl ilāni ina šd-ma-mu 74 lib-bi nišē-šū  
 šu-uš-ki-na-a-ma ai ir-šd-'a ḫi-ti-ti išdā-šū-nu 75 li-kun-nu ia-a-ti

<sup>1</sup> B omits ši. Possibly UŠ is an ideogram for uššū; uš = emdu, "foundation," RA., 9, 77, II, 15; in Gudea, C 3, 6 uš-bi mu-asag, "he has cleansed its foundation," uš refers to the foundation of a temple. The noun uššū, gen. acc. uššē, uššē has a long final vowel, which Delitzsch, H. W., 150, has explained as a plural of intensity. In any ušš-tu-nu is here treated as singular as the sing. adj. šbtu, šbti proves. On the other hand, uš-šū-šū innadū, Tig. VII, 70, shows that uššū is regarded as a plural. Delitzsch's view is perhaps the true one, for it defends the Semitic derivation of uššū, which seems obvious from the verb aššū, and the Hebrew and Arabic cognates. Were uššū a singular, the ū must be explained as the ending of a loan-word uš = uššū. Loan-words in ū invariably form their plurals in all cases in š for the masc., hence uššū pl. cannot possibly be the pl. of a loan-word. Note igarū, line 51, which is clearly a collective pl. construed with a sing. verb iḫḫp, hence uššē pl. construed with a sing. adj. šptu need not cause difficulty.

<sup>2</sup> Vars. e-ib-i. šbtu is probably an adj. from abātu "to destroy"; cf. abātu, pl. abātū, ruins, VAB., IV, 98, II, 10, 13; 110, 29; 142, 9; see Thureau-Dangin, RA., 11, 95.

<sup>3</sup> Var. B, su-uḫ.

<sup>4</sup> BARA, singular, but the sense requires a plural. In VAB., IV, 248, 32, I denied the possibility of reading BARA in this damaged line of I R, 69, but this statement was needlessly positive and erroneous.

<sup>5</sup> IGI-E(š); for ā = tabratu, without augment di, Br. 9360, see Gudea, Cyl. B 1, 4, ā-e gub-ba, "which stands as an object of admiration."

<sup>6</sup> Var. B, tā.

<sup>7</sup> I R, 69, III, 39, ta.

<sup>8</sup> Vars. ja.

<sup>9</sup> Vars. di-i-ni.

<sup>10</sup> UD-KIB-NUN-ki; var. Nbn. 4, III, 42, sip-pār-ki.

<sup>11</sup> MURUG, var. li-ib-na.

<sup>12</sup> Var. ra-bi-ti.

<sup>13</sup> Var. idi.

<sup>14</sup> Var. ilu-ū-ti-ka. The variant, Nbn. 4, III, 52, applies šubat ilūtika to Eulmaš alone; hence šubat in this version is a singular. But the same text has GAL-MEŠ which should be singular rabt-ti, if the scribe were consistent.

<sup>15</sup> Var. iš-da.

<sup>ilu</sup> Nabu-na'id<sup>1</sup> šar bābili-(ki) pa-liḫ ilu-ú-ti-ku-nu rabi-tū<sup>2</sup> 76 la-li-e balaḫi  
lu-uš-bi ù ša <sup>ilu</sup> Bēl-šarri-uṣur māru reš-tu-u<sup>3</sup> 77 ṣi-il lib-bi-ia šu-ri-ku  
ámē-šù ai ir-ša-'a ḫi-ti-ti

78 ša eli aban a-su-mil-tum ša sip-pár<sup>4</sup> ilat a-nu-ni-tum

79 e-piṣ-tū <sup>ilu</sup> sin bēl ilāni ù<sup>5</sup> ilat iṣ-tar<sup>6</sup> 80 ša šami-e u irṣi-tim<sup>7</sup> ša ina  
eli aban a-su-mi-ni-e-tū<sup>8</sup> 81 ša ga-la-la aš-ḫu-ru-ma a-na ša-me-e ša nišē  
ár-ki-tum<sup>9</sup>

Col. I 1 As to Ebarra, temple of Shamash of Sippar, 2 that temple which Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, a former king, 3 had torn down, 4 and whose ancient foundation record had not attained, 5 that Ebarra he built 6 and gave it unto Shamash his lord. 7 Within 52 years the walls of that temple 8 sagged and went to decay. 9 I Nabuna'id king of Babylon, 10 [care-taker] of Esagila and Ezida, in my legitimate reign,<sup>10</sup> 11 [which Sin and Shamash] love, that Ebarra 12 [I tore down] and excavated its [excavation]. Its ancient foundation record 13 [which the former Sargon<sup>11</sup>] had made I saw and upon the foundation record 14 (which) [Sargon had made, not a finger-breadth too far above,] not a finger-breadth too far beyond, 15 [its foundation I laid and I fixed] its bricks. 16 [Lofty beams of cedar, product of Mount Amanus] and B23 [the Chaldean land] I caused to be erected for its roof. B24 [Doors] of unbarked cedar,<sup>12</sup> whose odor is B25 [sweet, with a plating of] bright silver and

<sup>1</sup> I; var. IM-TUK.

<sup>2</sup> Var. ti.

<sup>3</sup> Var. u.

<sup>4</sup> Var. I R, 69, III, 62. UD-KIB-NUN-(ki).

<sup>5</sup> Var. Nbn. 4, III, 63, u.

<sup>6</sup> Var. *ibid.*, ~~W~~, followed by a-ši-bu-ut which is omitted on A.

<sup>7</sup> Line 80=B, col. VI, 1.

<sup>8</sup> Var. B -ni-tum; I R, 69, 64, -mi-ni-e-tum. *asumiltu*=*asuminta*, but the etymology is still obscure. See VAB., IV, 24, 6, 28, note.

<sup>9</sup> Vars. *ár-ku-tum*. *arktu* is a variant of *arkātu*=*arkai-ātu*, fem. pl. of *arkú*, used as an abstract noun; Nbn. 9, II, 23, *ámu ar-ku-tu*, "days of longevity." Correct my text (printer's error) in Nbn. 9, II, 23, *ku* not *ki*. Hence *arkātu* is also an abstract noun and not a masc. pl. of *arkú*.

<sup>10</sup> *palú* means originally "dynasty," not "reign," and is a loan-word from *bal*, *pal*, "to change," or noun "the change." For the original use of *bal* see Hilprecht, *BE.*, XX, No. 47, 7, *uri-ki bal-bi ba-an-kur nam-lugal-bi i-si-in-(ki) šu-ba-ti*, "At Ur the dynasty was changed and Isin seized the royal power."

<sup>11</sup> Nbn. 1, II, 57; 6, I, 38 give Narām-Sin as the founder.

<sup>12</sup> *erin-bār-(ra)*, Meissner, *SAI.*, 8310. *erin-bār-bār-ra*, Gud. Cyl. A, 14, 15; cf. 22, 4, here used for constructing objects to adorn the temple. Meissner-Rost, *Sanherib*, 52, n. 13=KB., II, 112, 49, <sup>ilu</sup> *li-ja-ru* is employed for making doors, and in *ibid.* 10, line 20, it is a variant on *er-ni*, cedar, hence a kind of cedar, whose sweet odor is mentioned by Asurbanipal, V R., 10, 99, and III R, 38, b, 31. *li-ja-ru* is an aromatic cedar in *CT.*, 18, 38, 40, *ri-ki bu-ra-ši ku-ku-ru li-ja-ru*, "aromat of cypress, chickory and *li-ja-ru*," and in Nikolski, *Documents de la plus ancienne époque chaldéenne*, 301, I, 3, *erin-bār-bār-kaš*, or "liquor of the *lijaru*," figures in a list of aromatic preparations. *erin-bār=ti-ja-lu*, *MYG.*, 1913, Pt. 2, pp. 21, 42; the tree *meš-bār=ti-ja-lu*, *ibid.*, 37, and the *meš* tree (= *mešu*) is probably the ash; *ibid.*, 26, 64, the "sweet *šarbatu*" is called *tijdu* and

B26 [shining bronze] I caused to be overlaid, B27 [and I fitted in its gates. That Ebarra—

20 its work I caused to be completed and the temple like daylight I caused to shine. 21 For the life of my soul, for the annihilation of my enemies 22 unto Shamash my lord I gave it. O Shamash, great lord, 23 daily without ceasing at the side of Sin 24 the father thy begetter may the good done unto Esagila,<sup>1</sup> 25 Ezida,<sup>2</sup> Egiširgal,<sup>3</sup> Ebarra,<sup>4</sup> Eanna<sup>5</sup> 26 Eulmaš,<sup>6</sup> abodes of their mighty divinities,<sup>7</sup> 27 be present on thy lips. Like heaven may they secure their foundations, 28 and let them create in the domes of heaven reverence for Sin lord of the gods and of Ishtar 29 among his people.] 30 May they not have any<sup>8</sup> defilement. May their foundations be secure. 31 As for me Nabu-na'id king of Babylon, 32 worshiper of your mighty divinities, 33 may I enjoy the fulness of life, 34 and lengthen ye the days of Belshazzar, the first son, offspring of my loins. 35 May he not have any sin.

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36 That which was (written) on an inscription in Sippar.<sup>9</sup>

37 As to Ebarra, temple of Shamash him of Larsa, against which city and temple 38 Sin king of the gods, lord of the gods, and Ishtar, 39 the dwellers of heaven and earth, 40 were angered, great heaps of sand 41 were heaped upon it, and its chambers appeared no more. 42 In the reign of Nebuchadnezzar 43 king of Babylon, a former king, my predecessor, 44 son of Nabupolassar king of Babylon, 45 by the command<sup>10</sup> of Sin and Shamash his lords 46 arose the four winds, great hurricanes 47 and the sand which covered over the city and that temple 48 being

according to Holma, *Kleine Beiträge*, 80, *garbatu* is the elm; *ibid.*, 65, the "*garbatu* of the field" is called *tišdu*, hence *tišdu* a part or kind of ash, elm (?), and cedar (?), or product supplied by these, perhaps "bast." But *tišdu* = *tišdu* = *erinnu pišdu* or "white cedar," i.e., "white of cedar?" (II, R. 23, cf. 23). Hence *tišdu* = *tišdu*, *tišdu* "aromatic bark," and thence "aromatic wood with bark," i.e., wood employed with the bark still on it. Of these forms perhaps *tišdu* is original, in which case the word is connected with *trū*, "covering," VAB., IV, 371. I would suggest that *daldū tišdu* be rendered "doors of cedar sticks unbarked."

<sup>1</sup> Temple of Marduk in Babylon.

<sup>2</sup> Temple of Nebo in Barsippa.

<sup>3</sup> Temple of Sin in Ur.

<sup>4</sup> Temple of Shamash in Sippar and Larsa.

<sup>5</sup> Temple of Ishtar in Erech.

<sup>6</sup> Temple of Ishtar in Sippar-Anunit. For Eulmaš as the temple of Ishtar see *Tammuz and Ishtar*, p. 99, and K. 4608 Obv. 7 (a psalm to Ishtar) in IV Raw., corrections to 19 No. 3.

<sup>7</sup> I.e., the divinities of the aforementioned temples.

<sup>8</sup> *an*; see Delitzsch, *H. W.*, 94. *an* is an obsolete demonstrative pronoun, a strengthened form of which is *annū*; *an* is parallel to *šd* (also by origin a pronoun) in *šd pani*, "the of former time," etc.; *an* is cognate to Hebrew אָן. See Brockelmann, *Vergleichende Grammatik*, I, 317.

<sup>9</sup> See for *asumittu*, VAB., IV, 246, 28.

<sup>10</sup> *ḫibi*, infinitive.

hurled away, he conducted excavations. 49 The foundation record of Ebarra which Burnaburiash, 50 a king of former times, my predecessor, had made, 51 he saw and upon the foundation record of Burnaburiash, 52 not a finger-breadth too high, not a finger-breadth beyond, 53 the foundation of that Ebarra he laid. For the dwelling of 54 Shamash the great lord and of Aja, the bride, his beloved, 55 that temple he made and caused its work to be completed. 56 Shamash the great lord 57 therein he caused to take (his) habitation.

58 Me Nabuna'id king of Babylon, 59 care-taker of Esagila and Ezida, 60 now in the tenth year, in my legitimate reign, 61 which Sin and Shamash love, when Shamash the great lord 62 thought about<sup>1</sup> his first dwelling,<sup>2</sup> 63 by a dream which I perceived<sup>3</sup> and which the people perceived for themselves, 64 he sent me to restore Ebarra upon the foundation record of that ancient Ebarra 65 even unto its place, the abode which gives joy to his heart. 66 I beheld the ruins that covered the lofty ziggurat, 67 and caused to be summoned numerous people. 68 The inclosure of that temple (and) ziggurat right and left 69 in front and behind I excavated; Ebarra 70 unto its extent I examined and the writing of the name of

Col. II 1 Hammurapi a former king, my predecessor 2 (therein I beheld) who 700 years before Burnaburiash 3 had made Ebarra, and the ziggurat upon the ancient foundation record 4 for Shamash therein I beheld and my heart was glad.

6 My countenance brightened. 7 Of Ebarra upon the foundation record of Hammurapi, 8 a former king, not a hand-breadth too high, not a hand-breadth beyond 9 I laid the foundation and fixed securely its bricks. 10 Ebarra I made anew and completed its work. 11 Lofty cedar beams, the product of Mount Amanus, 12 I caused to be erected for its roof. Doors of *unbarked*-cedars 13 whose odor is sweet I fitted in its gates. 14 That temple I built and made it glorious like the day. 15 For Shamash the great lord, my lord, for the life of my soul 16 to annihilate my foe(s) verily I built it.

<sup>1</sup> The text *ih-sus-ma* is preferable, making an independent verb here. The sentence then reads, "As for me Nbn. . . . Shamash the great lord thought about his first dwelling." A conjunction *ša*, "when," must be supplied to explain *ih-susu-ma-ih-susu* of the original record, Nbn. 3, II, 2. The *su* is here both for purpose of accent and to indicate a subjunctive. It does not appear to be the suffix *-šu*.

<sup>2</sup> Ebarra of Larsa was a Sumerian foundation which the Semites copied at Agade.

<sup>3</sup> *amāru*, originally "read aloud," "interpret," is the Hebrew אָמַר, "speak," but more often degraded in Babylonian to the meaning "see." Cf. *amuru* here with *ipfulu* (*naḫḫu*), VAB., IV, 278, 22, of "seeing a vision." *amāru* frequently retains the meaning "read"; *naḫḫa-tamar-ma tašasū*, "having read the inscription thou shalt read aloud"; see for this distinction of *amāru* and *šasū*, Jensen, KB., VI, 556. For the I' form in the

sense of "read, consider," see VAB., IV, 310, and compare Arabic أَمَرَ in the Ifta'al form, "to seek advice," "inquire into." The translation "see" rarely does full justice to this verb.

"O Shamash, great lord, 17 daily without ceasing in the presence of Sin 18 the father thy begetter, at sunrise and sunset 19 may the good deeds done unto Esagila, Ezida, 20 Egišširgal, Ebarra, Eanna, and Eulmash, 21 the majestic habitations of your divinities, be present on thy lips. 22 Like the heavens may their foundations be secure. 23 I Nabuna'id king of Babylon, worshiper of your mighty divinities, 24 would enjoy fulness of life and lengthen the days of Belshazzar, 25 the first son, offspring of my loins. 26 May he not have any sin."

27 What was (written) on an inscription in Larsa.

28 The foundation record of Eulmash of Agade, 29 which since the age of Sargon king of Babylon 30 and Naram-Sin his son, a king of former time, 31 and even unto the reign of Nabuna'id king of Babylon 32 had not come to light, Kurigalzu king of Babylon, 33 a king of former time, sought for. 34 The foundation record of Eulmash he attained not. 35 Thus he wrote, thus he did. "The foundation record 36 of Eulmash I sought for, I expended pious toil but attained not." 37 Asarhaddon king of Assyria and Asurbanipal his son 38 to whom Sin king of the gods had intrusted the subjection of the lands, 39 searched for the foundation record of Eulmash and attained it not. 40 They wrote, they did as follows: 41 "That Eulmash I searched for 42 and attained not. *Elm* and *maštū* wood 43 I cut and a likeness of Eulmash 44 I made; to Ishtar of Agade, the great lady, my lady 45 I gave." Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, 46 son of Nabopolassar, a former king, summoned his numerous skilled workmen, 47 and searched for the foundation record of Eulmash; he spent pious labor, made excavations, 49 and went deep, but the foundation record of Eulmash he attained not. 50 I Nabuna'id king of Babylon, 52 care-taker of Esagila and Ezida, 52 in my legitimate reign, in the fear of Ishtar of Agade, my lady, 53 saw a vision.<sup>1</sup> Shamash and Ramman 54 answered me a trustworthy affirmation. 55 As to the<sup>2</sup> attaining unto the foundation record of that Eulmash 56 a favorable oracle by my oracle of a planet<sup>3</sup> he<sup>4</sup> produced. 57 My many people I sent 58 and to seek for that foundation record of Eulmash 59 three years in the trenches of Nebuchadnezzar 60 king of Babylon I dug, right and left, in front 61 and behind I searched and found not. 62 Thus they said to me: "This foundation record 63 we searched for and dis-

<sup>1</sup> *biru* is used in the inscriptions of the neo-Babylonian kings in the sense of "dream," "dream-oracle."

<sup>2</sup> For *ša* as a demonstrative see *AJSL.*, 1915, Vol. XXXI, 271 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *bibbu*, "planet," is the technical meaning of *LU-BAD* here. The passage probably refers to prophecy by astrology and not by hepatascopy.

<sup>4</sup> Shamash? The sun-god has no power over the movements of the planets according to the Babylonians. But he is a dream-god and here, as in Nbn. 8, VI, the king sees this astrological omen in a dream, hence Shamash is said to send this revelation.

covered not. A torrent of rain 64 there has been, a crevasse<sup>1</sup> it has made<sup>2</sup> and (this) we saw."

65 Thus I commanded them 66 as follows: "Excavations in that crevasse 67 make until you discover the foundation record of that crevasse." 69 That crevasse I excavated. 70 Narām-Sin the former king's foundation record of Eulmash the dwelling of Ishtar of Agade, 72 of Nanā and Anunit<sup>3</sup> and the gods of Eulmash 74 they found and they told me. 75 My heart was glad, my face shone. 76 Upon that foundation record of Eulmash, 77 not a finger-breadth too high, not a finger-breadth beyond, 78 (that foundation record)<sup>4</sup> the high altar and the shrine

Col. III 1 together with its<sup>5</sup> two stage towers 2 I laid and secured its 3 brick. A grading I filled up for it. 4 Upon the surface of the ground I placed it.<sup>6</sup> 5 That the foundation record of Eulmash be not forgotten 6 Eulmash I made and caused its work to be finished. 7 Lofty beams of cedar, produce of Mount Amanus, 8 for its roof I erected. Doors of *unbarked*-cedars 9 whose odor is sweet in its gates 10 I caused to stand. That temple like the day 11 I made brilliant. For Ishtar of Agade, 12 the great lady, my lady, for the life of my soul, 13 for the annihilation of mine enemy verily I have made it.

14 "O Ishtar of Agade, great lady, my lady, 15 before Sin the father thy begetter 16 may the good done unto Esagila, Ezida 17 Egišširgal, Ebarra, Eanna and Eulmash, 18 the mighty abodes of your divinities, be present on thy lips. 19 Like the heavens may their foundations be secure. 20 As for me Nabuna'id king of Babylon, 21 fearer of your mighty divinities, 22 may I enjoy to satiety the fulness (of life).<sup>7</sup> Of Belshazzar, the first son, 23 offspring of my loins, lengthen the days. 24 May he have no sin."

25 What was written on an inscription in Agade.

26 As for Eulmash of Sippar-Anunit, 27 against which city and temple Sin king of the gods 28 became enraged, he summoned Senecherib

<sup>1</sup> I R. 69 has a long break here.

<sup>2</sup> *ḥipū*, a noun like *šēru*, etc., and distinct from *ḥip libbi ḥi-bi libbi*, "crushing of the heart," where we have to do with inf. *ḥipā*.

<sup>3</sup> This passage does not necessarily identify Eulmash of Agade, temple of Innini-Ishtar, with Eulmash of Sippar-Anunit, temple of Anunit. The rebuilding of Eulmash is also described in Nbn. 1, III, 22-51, where it is called the temple of Anunit in Sippar-Anunit and appears to have been founded by the Kassite king Shagaraktišuriash, who is not mentioned in the above list (Asarhaddon, Asurbanipal, Nebuchadnezzar) of kings who had searched for Eulmash of Agade. If this Kassite king had repaired Eulmash of Agade Nabuna'id would surely have known about it. Sippar-Anunit is another city and its temple Eulmash a new foundation to Anunit (a name for the ancient Ishtar of Agade) to replace the lost Eulmash of Agade in the vicinity of Sippar. Note, however, that Nanā and Anunit are only specialized types of Innini-Ishtar.

<sup>4</sup> These words seem to me a case of erroneous tautology from line 76.

<sup>5</sup> The pronoun refers to Eulmash.

<sup>6</sup> Or "more than formerly earth I placed for it." For *kaṭṭar* genitive without ending, cf. *murūṣ kaṭṭad*, IV, R. 3, b, 43.

<sup>7</sup> *balajū* is omitted by the scribe; cf. above, col. II, 24; I, 33.

king of Assyria, 29 a violent foe; that city and temple he caused to go to destruction. 30 Now I Nabuna'd king of Babylon, 31 restorer of Esagila and Ezida, 32 in my legitimate reign, which Sin and Shamash love. 33 Anunit the mighty lady, my lady, dweller of Eulmash, 34 by the command of Sin king of the gods, the father her begetter 35 unto that city and temple graciously consented<sup>1</sup> to return. 36 In a dream during the night to build Eulmash 37 she caused me to behold a dream-(vision). My heart was glad, 38 my countenance brightened. I summoned 39 my numerous men. I excavated for the foundation record of that Eulmash, 40 and the statue with inscription of the name of Shagaraktishuriash 41 king of Babylon, a former king, in that trench 42 I read and thus 43 was it written on the statue with the inscription of his name, 44 as follows:

"Shagaraktishuriash, a faithful shepherd, 45 a revered prince, favorite of Shamash and Anunit am I. 46 When Shamash and Anunit for lordship of the Land 47 mentioned a name they filled my hands with the leading string of all peoples.

48 At that time Ebarra 49 the temple of Shamash of Sippar my lord and Eulmash 50 temple of Anunit of Sippar-Anunit my lady 51 whose walls since the time of Zabum because of old age had sagged—their walls I demolished. 52 Of their ruined foundations I took away their earth. 53 Their shrine(s) I preserved. Their plans I retained perfect. 55 I filled in their foundations with earth; the supporting wall(s) I restored. 56 Their walls in their places I embellished. 57 Their appearance I rendered more excellent than before. Forever, O Shamash and Anunit because of my precious deeds 59 may your hearts be glad. May they lengthen my days. 60 May they renew (my) life. Days of joy, month(s) of happiness, 61 years of prosperity may they grant (me) as a gift. 62 A judgment of precision and justice may I speak and may they cause peace to be always."

This was the inscription of the name of Shagaraktishuriash 64 king of Babylon, a former king, who made Eulmash of Sippar-Anunit.

65 Its ancient foundation record I saw. 66 Not a finger-breadth too high, not a finger-breadth too far beyond, upon the ancient foundation record 67 I laid its foundation and secured its brick. Of Eulmash I completed the work. 68 Like the day I made it bright. For Anunit, the mighty lady, my lady, 69 for the life of my soul, to destroy my enemy verily I have done it.

70 "O Anunit, mighty lady, in the presence of Sin, the father thy begetter, 71 may the good done unto Esagila, Ezida, Egišširgal, Ebarra, Eanna, 72 Eulmash, the mighty abode(s) of your (thy) divinities(y), be present on thy lips. Like the heavens may their 73 foundations be secure, and reverence for Sin lord of the gods in the heavens 74 in the

<sup>1</sup> *usalimu* *sic!*, with sing. subj., and not subjunctive.



hearts of his peoples let (these temples) cause to be. May they have not any defilement. May their foundations 75 be secure. May I Nabuna'id king of Babylon, worshiper of your mighty divinities, 76 fulness of life enjoy unto satiety; and of Belshazzar the first son, 77 offspring of my loins, lengthen ye his days. May he have no sin."

78 What was (written) on an inscription in Sippar-Anunit.

79 The deed(s) of Sin lord of the gods and of Ishtar, 80 (dwellers) in heaven and earth, which upon inscriptions<sup>1</sup> 81 of cylindrical shape<sup>2</sup> I have written that the peoples of distant times may hear.

## COLLATION OF I RAW. 69

Col. I, 14. Read *SA* for *IR*. 19. *TI* at end is certain. 20. Read *SUHUS* for *ŠAR*; at the end *li-ki-nu* is clear. 21. At the end *AN-IŠ-TAR*. 25. Read *KU* for *ŠU*. The fragment ll.10-26 has been placed much too high. 47. Read *KU* for *KI*. 52. Read *E* for *BIT*. 62. Read *BA* for *ŠU*.

Col. II, 4. Read *AM* for *IŠ*. 5. Read *RAT* for *RI*. 13. *LU* for *MA*. 14. Read *ta-a-bi e-ma*; the last sign is clearly *KÁ=bābu*. 16. At end *ZI-MEŠ* is clear. 19. *AŠ* is clear before *ni-ip-bi*; i.e., *ina* for *i-na*. 31. *IM* is clearly written before *TUK*. 37. Much more space should be allowed before *KIŠ*. The cylinder really has *KIŠ KUR-KUR*, hence *KIŠ* is here employed for *kiššat*. 43. *LUL* for *ḪAR*. 51. *AŠ* for *U*. Before *KUN*, *IŠ* is clear. After *KUN* the sign is *GALU*, not *LUGAL*.

Col. III, 18. First sign is *DI* not *KI*. After *MI* the sign *RU* is clear. At end *A*. 20. The cylinder actually omits *ŠUR* after *TI*. 25. Read *a-na be-lu-ut māti šu-um*. 32. The cylinder seems to have *sub-ma parakka-šu-nu*. 34. *KI-DI* is clear. *GA* for *BI*. 35. *MIR* is clear. Read *NU* after *ŠU*. 37. *šu-ku-[ra]-a-ti* is clear. 38. The cylinder omits *UD-MU*. 40. Read *SA* for *GA* and *LI* for *DU*. 43. After

<sup>1</sup> Since all three duplicates are made of baked clay (one prism and two cylinders) *aban asumittu* must refer to these and hence can apply to clay prisms and cylinders as well as to stone steles and metal slabs. In *VAB.*, IV, 246, 28, note, I drew the definition too closely. In addition to the passages there cited, cf. perhaps *dup-pi a-su-mi (?) -il (?) -ti ta Bālu māti Šurrāi*, "Tablet of the inscription of Ba'al of Tyre." Here *asumittu*, if the word really stood in this passage, would refer to a stele copied on to the clay tablet Esarhaddon; Winckler, *Forschungen*, II, 12, 20. In King, *Boundary Stones*, 18, 26, *a-su-mi-il-tu* (also without determ. *abnu*) refers to the stone stele on which the contents of three clay tablets had been copied.

<sup>2</sup> *galala*, "round," "cylindrical." Possibly a noun *galalu*, "ball," "roll," "cylinder," Aramaic ܓܠܠܐ, "cobblestone," Hebrew ܓܠܠ, "heap of stones." *kaspu gal-la-la*, "silver rolls," Strassmaier, *Nbk.* 12, 1; *kaspu ka-al-la-la*, "silver in rolls," Strassmaier, *Cyr.* 376, 6 (= *CT.*, 22, No. 182; cf. Martin, *Lettres*, p. 123). Hence *kaspu kullu*, *kālu*, *kālā*, Muss-Arnolt, *Lexicon*, 912, not "silver refined" (Ungnad), or "in foils, thin plates" (Thureau-Dangin, *Sargon*, 363), from *kāldu*, "be thin," but "in rolls or cylinders or balls," from *galdū*.

*te-me-en-šù* the signs *la-be-ri* are clear. 45. *MUḪ* for *Ù*. 46. *ù-kin li-ib-na-at-su* is clear. 58. At end *la-li-e*. 63. *UD-KIB-NUN-KI* is clear. 64. *mi-ni-* is clear; *ša* is omitted.

## CORRECTION TO COL. III, 36

The phrase *ina šat mûši* really contains the word *šattu*, "duration," and not the emphatic pronoun *šat*, as I suggested in *AJSL*, XXXI, 278, n. 1. The Sumerian *une*, *una*=*šattu* is connected with the word *ene*, "fulness, duration of time." [For the original sense of *ene*, *en*, see *Sum. Gr.*, p. 113.] Note *e-ne-ra*=*ana šatti*, Šamašsumukin, *Bilingual* 30 and *e-ne-šú*=*ana ša-at-ti*(?), *SBH*, XXXVII, 13. On the other hand it is gratifying to find names of men composed with the demonstrative *šat*, a fact which justifies the hope "Masculine names with *šat* will probably occur as we progress in our studies" (*AJSL*, XXXI, 278, n. 1). Note the name *Ša-at-<sup>tu</sup>Sin* (*CT*, 32, 34 II 19) son of Abanamtag.

DAVID'S LAMENT OVER SAUL AND JONATHAN:  
II SAM. 1:19-27

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The limited measure of success hitherto attained in the attempts to solve difficulties in the Massoretic Text of this passage forms ample warrant for reconsidering the whole.

Difficulty begins with the opening term **הַצִּבִּי**, which, with the four words immediately following, has sometimes been rendered 'The beauty (or 'The gazelle'), O Israel, upon thy heights [is] slain';<sup>1</sup> apart from the obscurity of this reading, however, it is to be noted that on this view the order of the words is unusual, for the predicate should normally come first, not last. Following the lead of the Septuagint translator, who has rendered the first word by *Στήλῳσον*, apparently thinking that it was a command to set up a pillar in memory of the two braves, some eminent critics (Klostermann, Nowack, Budde, H. P. Smith) prefer to regard the form as an imperative, which, in their opinion, was originally **הִצִּבִּי** ('Be thou grieved'). This form, however, is obviously feminine, and, if adhered to, would both require the associated noun ('O Israel'), contrary to all usage elsewhere, to be viewed as feminine instead of masculine, and necessitate the change of **בְּמִוְתָּיָהּ** into **בְּמִוְתָּיָהוּ**. But it appears more reasonable to assume that the original reading was **הִנָּצִיב**,<sup>2</sup> the " at the end of the form in the received text being treated as a dittogram from the beginning of the word immediately following: the first three words then give the sense, 'Stand, O Israel, upon thy heights!' An imperative obviously accords better with the prohibitions in the next verse ('Tell not . . . publish not . . .').

The form **הָלַל**,<sup>3</sup> however, remains to be utilized. The context decidedly favors the view that this was originally a second impera-

<sup>1</sup> 'The beauty of Israel,' as a rendering of the first two words, cannot be accepted, inasmuch as the article would abnormally be attached to a construct noun.

<sup>2</sup> Driver fitly remarked that 'some corruption seems to underlie **הַצִּבִּי**,' but he found himself unable to offer any solution of the difficulty.

<sup>3</sup> It is more than probable that, in the course of manifold transcription, there has been assimilation of resemblant forms from really different roots: with this form, compare **הִלְלִים** in vs. 22, and **הָלַל** in vs. 25.

tive, resembling it, viz. **וַיֵּלֵל** ('Wail!'). Such a command would fitly follow the first; yet, in view of the parallelism regulating the structure of Hebrew poetry, it would stand alone, if regard be had merely to the Massoretic Text. At this point, however, the reading of the Septuagint claims more serious consideration than it has generally received, and it will richly reward attention. A simple retranslation of the expression *ὑπὲρ ὧν τεθνήκατόν σου* is **עַל-מֵיתֵיךָ**, which, instead of being viewed as merely a various reading of **עַל-בְּמוֹתֶיךָ**, should be restored as the genuine reading in the latter portion of a second line, inadvertently omitted, however, because of its similarity to the close of the first.

As the result of these few changes, vs. 19 would run thus:

Stand, O Israel, upon thy heights!  
Wail over thy dead!  
[Crying] How mighty ones have fallen!

Vs. 20 does not call for emendation.

In vs. 21, the opening expression **הָרִי בְּגִלְבֹּעַ** is usually rendered, 'O ye mountains in Gilboa!' But two difficulties here present themselves: first, that Gilboa, though certainly a range of hills, is elsewhere called simply a 'mountain' (see vs. 6, and I Sam. 31:1); second, the unusual intervention of a preposition between the construct form and the noun on which it leans. Klostermann seems to look in the right direction when he proposes to read **חֲרָבִי בְּגִלְבֹּעַ**; less exception, however, can be taken to the verb-form **חֲרֹב**, which would make the expression mean, 'Be thou parched, O Gilboa!'

An obvious objection to the next clause **אַל-טֵל** is the want of a verb-form; the proposed insertion of **יֵרֵד** ('descend'), suggested by the Septuagint *καταβάρω*, certainly relieves the situation somewhat, yet the resultant meaning is not so satisfactory as is secured by inserting **יֵזֵל**, which, because of its obvious resemblance to the two forms adjacent, would very readily be omitted by a transcriber: the resultant meaning will now be, 'let not dew distil.' The third clause likewise lacks a verb-form, but the want may most simply and reasonably be supplied by writing the noun-form **מָטָר** as the Niphal imperfect **יִמָּטֵר**, and giving this an impersonal sense ('let it not be rained'). Difficulty is next felt in accepting as correct the expression **שִׁירִי**

תְּרִיבוֹת, which might most naturally be rendered 'fields of offerings,' i.e., fields from which choice offerings of first-fruits were obtained; change of the closing term, however, into the resemblant עֲרִיבוֹת presents a less objectionable meaning, viz., 'fields of sheaves,' i.e., fields famed for producing grain in abundance. (Less suitable substitutes are רִבְיָה or תְּרִיבִית, both of which would make the expression signify 'fields of deceit.')

After the middle of the verse, difficulty appears in the expression, 'the shield of heroes, the shield of Saul'; by such an accumulation the line is obviously overloaded. One would expect that with the plural 'heroes' there should be associated the plural (construct) form 'shields' (viz., מִגְנֵי), for each man should have a shield; but when the whole case is considered, it would seem that an initial error was committed by an early transcriber in writing גִּבּוֹרִים instead of גִּבּוֹר, though the mention made, at the end of the verse, of an *individual* who had been anointed with oil should have prevented him from making such a mistake; after this error had been committed, however, a later transcriber deemed it necessary to insert, by way of explanation, the words, 'the shield of Saul.' To remove the words מִגְנֵי שָׁאוּל as a gloss, and then reduce the preceding expression to the form מִגְנֵי גִבּוֹר, brings the whole clause into a form ('for there, the shield of a hero was thrown aside' as a thing of naught) which commends itself.

The next clause, concluding the verse בְּלִי מִיָּשִׁיחַ בְּשָׁמֶן ('not anointed with oil') has sometimes been regarded as referring to the *shield*, as by the Septuagint translator (*θυρεὸς Σαουλ οὐκ ἐχρίσθη ἐν ἐλαίῳ*), and by the majority of the late English Revisers whose rendering, in the text, is 'the shield of Saul, not anointed with oil'; in support of this view, citation is made of Isa. 25:5 and Judg. 22:14. On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that the verb מִיָּשִׁחַ mostly signifies anointing with holy oil, which was applied to consecrated *persons*, as priests (Exod. 28:41; 29:2; 40:15), prophets (I Kings 19:16; Isa. 61:1), kings (I Sam. 10:1; 15:1; I Kings 19:15), but also to consecrated things, as the altar and the vessels of divine service in the Tabernacle (Exod. 29:36; 30:26 ff.; 40:9, 10, 11, etc.). In a very few passages only can it be maintained that the verb is used to indicate anointing of common objects. The most reasonable view here

is to regard the words **בְּלִי מִשְׁחָה** as a mistranscription of the resemblant **בְּלִי מִשְׁחָה**, and thus secure the appropriate meaning, 'the weapon of one anointed with oil.'

Vs. 22, as presented to us by the Massoretes, contains a large proportion of questionable forms and is thus hard to be understood. Most minds must feel difficulty in accepting what is stated in the common rendering,—

From the blood of the slain, from the fat of the mighty,  
The bow of Jonathan turned not back,  
And the sword of Saul returned not empty.

Both father and son are clearly pictured here, not as brave and courageous, but rather as positively delighting in slaughter: even so, it is not easy to conceive how the 'bow' of Jonathan turned not back from the blood of the slain, and the sword of Saul did not return 'empty.' Considerable emendation must be made before suitable sense can be evolved.

Beginning with the middle of the verse, and setting aside the form **קֶשֶׁת** ('bow') for later consideration, let us content ourselves with the statement that 'Jonathan did not turn back' (or 'turn away'); here, however, the abnormal verb-form **נָשׁוּב** must be set aside in favor of the correct form **נָשׁוּב**, which, indeed, is found in many Hebrew MSS. Next, at the beginning of the verse, instead of **מִדָּם חֲלָלִים**, read the resemblant expression **מִדָּחִי חֲלָצִים**, which presents the appropriate statement that Jonathan did not draw back 'from the onset of those equipped' for fight. Then, by changing the first and the third words in the expression **מִחֲלֹב גְּבוּרִים קֶשֶׁת**, so that the whole may become **מִדָּחִים גְּבוּרִים קֶשֶׁת**, there is obtained the fitting sense 'from the heavy<sup>2</sup> stroke of valiants.'

In the later portion of the verse, let the first form **וַיַּחַרֵּב** give place either to the similarly sounded **וַיִּקְרַב** or the resemblant form **וַיַּחַרֵּב**,<sup>3</sup> so as to give the meaning 'and the attack (or 'onslaught') of Saul,' which will have to be treated as the *accusative* in its clause.

<sup>1</sup> This form of the participle is actually found in many Hebrew MSS.

<sup>2</sup> On the position of the attributive adjective, see König, *Syntax der hebr. Sprache*, § 334γ. It is assumed that a noun-form **חֲלָצִים** ('blow' or 'stroke') was current in early times but afterward became obsolete.

<sup>3</sup> The early existence of another noun-form, which afterward fell out of use, is once more assumed.

Finally, for the unsuitable words **לֹא חָשִׁיב רִיקָם**, substitute the resemblant forms **לֹא חָשֵׁן דְּפָקָם**, 'their pressure did not restrain.' The character of the whole verse, thus changed, depicts the undaunted courage of Saul and Jonathan rather than delight in carnage.

Vs. 23. Some expositors, unable to resist the strong temptation to divide this verse into three equal parts, each containing four words in Hebrew, have made the whole run thus:

Saul and Jonathan, the beloved and the pleasant,  
In their lives and in their death were not divided;  
They were swifter than eagles, they were stronger than lions.

This arrangement, however, leaves something to be desired, particularly at the end of the second line, where it is stated that Saul and Jonathan at their death were not 'divided.' Greater brightness and freshness are secured, first, by treating the two forms in the expression **הַנְּאֻמִּים וְהַנְּעִימִים** as superlatives; and secondly, by substituting for **נִפְרְדוּ** ('separated') the resemblant **נִפְקְדוּ** ('sought for'), thus bringing out a contrast between the high esteem in which they were held during life and the disregard shown them at death. The whole verse may then be presented thus:

Saul and Jonathan [were] the most beloved and the dearest  
in their lives,  
[yet] in their death they were not cared for,—  
[though] they had been swifter than eagles, were stronger  
than lions.

Mention of the neglect of the bodies of Saul and his son on the battlefield, as now evolved, receives ample confirmation from the story in the preceding chapter (I Sam., chap. 31).

Vs. 24. Emendation is required at several points in this verse. First, the preposition **אֶל** ('to') should be **עַל** ('over'), which was doubtless miswritten through the assimilating influence of the form **יִשְׂרָאֵל** immediately preceding. Next, the participle **הַמְּלִבְשָׁתָם** ('the one who clothed') should properly have the feminine suffix **ָ** instead of the masculine; moreover, the prefixed article is really unnecessary in the case of a word sufficiently defined already (but see Deut. 8:14; 13:6, 11; 20:1; Ps. 18:33; 81:11, etc.); here, however, it may be a dittogram from the end of the word preceding. Further, the expression **עִם צְרָנֵים** ('together with pleasures') does

not suit the context and must be deemed a mistranscription of the resemblant עִם-סָרִינִים ('together with fine-linen garments'), as first suggested by Grätz and approved by later critics. In the last clause, instead of the construct singular in the expression עֲדֵי זָהָב, the original form was most probably the construct plural, עֲדָי, which gives better sense ('ornaments of gold').

Vs. 25. After the fitting exclamation in the first part of this verse ('How heroes are fallen in the midst of the battle!'), the sudden change, in the lament, to address an individual in the second person is surprising—all the more surprising because another change is at once made, in the next verse, to apostrophize Jonathan the beloved; there is thus good reason for suspecting that the latter half of this verse (which some render, 'Jonathan upon thy high places [is] slain,' others, 'O Jonathan [thou wast] slain in thy high places') has been mistranscribed. By changing עַל-בְּמוֹתָיָהּ הָלַל into the resemblant expression נִגְעַל בְּמוֹתוֹ כָּחֹל, the concluding portion runs more fitly, thus: 'Jonathan was cast aside, when he died, as unclean.'

Vs. 26. The Massoretic readings in most of this verse may be accepted as correct, though possibly מֵאֵד, at the end of the verse, may be a transcriptional error for מֵאֵחָ, which would change the meaning from 'thou wast very dear to me,' into 'thou wast dearer to me than a brother.'

At the beginning of the second half, the peculiar form נִפְלְאוֹתָהּ is best explained as a compound, in one word, by a late transcriber of two conflate readings, viz., נִפְלְאוֹהָ and נִפְלְאוֹתָהּ, Niphal forms of פָּלַא and its cognate פָּלַח, both meaning 'to be wonderful'; similar mixed forms are הִתְבַּאֲחָהּ in Josh. 6:17, הִמְצִיאָהּ in Jer. 50:20, etc.

Vs. 27. In the last verse, beginning with the dying echo of the wail, 'How heroes have fallen!' one hardly expects to find, for a finish, lamentation over the perishing of 'weapons' of war—things rather than *persons*; to urge that Saul and Jonathan are poetically viewed as instruments of war is a very lame defense of the Massoretic reading. The form פָּלִי is rather to be regarded as a questionable form for which a better must be sought.

Guidance in the search for a more appropriate term is derived from a study of other passages. The latter portion of Gen. 7:14,



according to the received Hebrew text, runs so strangely—'and all the fowl tribe after its kind, every bird, every wing'—that doubt may well be entertained regarding the correctness of the readings, particularly the threefold repetition of כָּל ('all,' or 'every'). Most probably an early transcriber, after having *twice* written כָּל, unconsciously wrote this a third time also, instead of the correct resemblant כָּעַל; from this, כ first disappeared, because of its weakness in pronunciation,<sup>1</sup> and כ was next mistranscribed as כ; but when the concluding expression in Gen. 7:14 is read as כָּעַל כָּנָה ('lord [or 'possessor'] of a wing,' having wings), the difficulty disappears, and the phrase falls into line with what is found in Prov. 1:17; Eccl. 10:20.<sup>2</sup>

In view of what has now been stated, it is safe to infer that the closing expression in this lament over Saul and Jonathan, viz., מְלִיחָה כָּלִי מְלִיחָה should rather be כָּעַלִי מְלִיחָה ('lords of battle,' or 'masters in war').

On the basis of the textual corrections now suggested, the dirge will assume something like the following form:

19. Stand, O Israel, upon thy heights!  
Wail over thy dead! [crying]  
How heroes have fallen!
20. Tell it not in Gath!  
Publish it not in the streets of Ashkelon!  
lest the daughters of the Philistines rejoice,  
lest the daughters of the uncircumcised exult.
21. Be thou parched, O Gilboa!  
Let not dew distil,  
Nor let rain be poured on you,  
or [on] the sheaf-producing fields;  
For there, the shield of a hero was thrown aside,  
the weapon of one anointed with oil.
22. From the onset of the equipped,  
From the heavy stroke of heroes,  
Jonathan turned not aside,  
And their pressure restrained not the attack of Saul.
23. Saul and Jonathan, the most beloved and the dearest in their lives,  
in their death were not cared for;  
[though] they had been swifter than eagles, were stronger than lions.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. כָּל, the name of the Babylonian deity, abbreviated from כָּעַל (Heb. כָּעַל). In Isa. 46:1; Jer. 50:2, etc.

<sup>2</sup> The same correction should be made in Ezek. 39:4.

24. O ye daughters of Israel, weep over Saul!  
Who clothed you with scarlet and fine undergarments,  
Who laid ornaments of gold on your clothing.
25. How heroes have fallen in the midst of the battle!  
Jonathan was cast aside, when he died, as unclean!
26. I am distressed over thee, my brother!  
O Jonathan, thou wast dearer to me than a brother;  
Thy love to me was wonderful,—  
more than the love of women.
27. How heroes have fallen,  
And lords of battle perished!

## HEXAPLA AND HEXAPLARIC

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Swete's *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* appeared in 1900; two years later a reprint became necessary; now after fourteen years the work has undergone revision at the hand of Mr. Ottley, whose previous publications prepared him for the task graciously delegated by the older scholar. The text has been altered at times, paragraphs have been rewritten, the bibliographical material at the end of the chapters has been enlarged, and, above all, thirty-three pages of additional notes appear at the end of the volume.<sup>1</sup> Those of us whose acquaintance with the Septuagint antedates the first edition have had to gather our information from Bleek-Wellhausen, Cornill, Buhl, or from Driver's valuable introduction to his *Notes on Samuel*, Cornill's prolegomena to his *Ezekiel*, and Lagarde's publications—Hody was probably out of reach, for, antiquated though he be, much of the material printed in the ordinary introductions came from him. When Swete arrived, it was easy to predict that we had before us a standard work destined to supersede Nestle's admirable article and Kenyon's concise treatment in a book having a wider range. Since the first publication many important aids to the study of the Septuagint have appeared: from the two centers of Septuagint activity, Cambridge and Göttingen, we have received monumental editions and weighty monographs, and while Brooke and McLean are forging ahead with their gigantic apparatus Rahlfs has presented us with a fresh catalogue of manuscripts of the Greek Old Testament; Thackeray's *Grammar*, hinted at in the first edition, has made its appearance, though Helbing's parallel treatise arrived earlier on the scene. This country has contributed the splendid publication of a new uncial from Mr. Freer's collection which the Smithsonian Institution in Washington is to harbor, and that of the fragments of the

<sup>1</sup> *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek.* By Henry Barclay Swete, D.D., F.B.A. Revised by Richard Rusden Ottley, M.A. With an appendix containing the Letter of Aristæus, edited by H. St. J. Thackeray, M.A. Cambridge: University Press. 1914. Pp. xvi+626.

Psalter from the same collection is on the press; Torrey's critical studies on Esdras and Olmstead's on Kingdoms have graced the pages of this Journal. We are sorely in need of a textual commentary of the kind furnished by Rahlfs on the fourth chapter of the first Book of Kings and of a new lexicon, toward which much preliminary labor is now being done in the shape of indexes to the later Greek translators. And the younger generation, with such a master as G. F. Moore near at hand, will be ready for co-operation only when by the help of Swete-Ottley it shall have informed itself of the nature of the manifold problems awaiting solution.

The purpose of an Introduction is to open the gateway to knowledge; incidentally of course it should aim to become a reference work, a *Nachschlagebuch*. To help Swete's work become such a one will require the joined efforts of many students, the sum of whose labors each succeeding revision will naturally register, not the least assistance being offered by judicious reviews. Thus Lietzmann's critique of the first edition in the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* (May, 1902) is fully taken account of in the present revision. The most important point raised by the Jena professor is dealt with by Ottley in an additional note on pp. 500-502. The question turns about the form given by Origen to the Septuagint in the fifth column of his great critical work, and though Ottley has met it, there is, I venture to believe, room for further discussion.

In his monumental work on the Hexapla (I, lii) Field records the opinion of certain scholars who maintain that the fifth column contained the Septuagint in an unrevised form. According to them Origen's purpose in the Hexapla was merely by the aid of the Hebrew and of the later translations which squared with it to demonstrate the unsatisfactory character of the current text of the church Bible, and the object was accomplished by leaving well enough alone, the parallel arrangement in columns sufficing to bring out its incongruities from the point of view of the Hebrew, which was the standard and the truth. Thus a blank line in the fifth column would show up an omission, just as a blank in all the other columns revealed an unwarranted addition in the Septuagint text; a glance at the surrounding Greek columns might enable the reader to discover for himself where in the Septuagint columns the sequence of the

text had become disturbed. With the material thus disposed both in the Hexapla and the shorter Tetrapla, it is held, Origen at a later date issued a separate edition containing just the Septuagint, but in a revised form, the gaps being supplied and placed *sub asterisco*, the additions marked as spurious by means of the obelus, the Hebrew order restored, and the whole annotated with scholia registering divergent renderings culled from the later Greek translations. The theory is mentioned by Field only to be refuted; he refers to *innumera loca* on the margins of Greek manuscripts pointing to the contrary; he also makes much of the difficulty that would have attended the sequence of the lines, nay, in certain books the sequence of many pages, had Origen chosen to leave the fifth column in the order of the common text. Field knows himself at one with Hody, according to whom the contrary opinion was fathered by "Sixtus Senensis, Bellarminus, Kimedoncius, Jo. de la Haye, Auctor praefationis Lat. Versionis των ο' ut etiam Rivetus, Episcopus, Heinsius, &c." Yet Lietzmann now reverts to it. He regrets that Field fails to cite expressly any of the *innumera loca* supporting his thesis. Ottley falls back upon the great weight attaching to Field's impressions in view of his long work at the Hexapla. "Lietzmann says he finds only one passage—in the margin of the MS Vat. 754 on Ps. cxxx. 4 . . . . εν δε τω οκτασελιδω παρα μονοις τοις ο' εκειτο ωβελισμενον—which appears to support Field; but it would be scarcely safe to assert that no more are forthcoming." But why did not Ottley institute a search? As to the difficulty about the order of the text, Lietzmann is of the opinion that it is not a serious one. Others on the other hand may just as reasonably urge that the waste of good parchment would have deterred the church Father from adopting a process which was cumbersome enough. But whether feasible or no, we have, I believe, an express scholion attributed to Origen on Gen. 47:5 f. (Field, p. 66, n. 6; see also his *Prolegomena*, p. xii, n. 16), proving beyond the shadow of a doubt that Origen transposed the text of the Septuagint in accordance with the Hebrew. "Since in the Tetrapla," thus the scholion reads, "from which the present copy was derived, in conformity with the order [*ειρμος*, "series"] in the Hebrew and in the other versions, that of the Seventy is likewise revealed in certain places as transposed, so that the first becomes the last and the last

the first, which has also happened in the present passage, for that reason we set here the [original] sequence. It is as follows: right after κατοικησομεν οι παιδες σου εν γη γεσεμ comes ειπε δε φαραω τω ιωσηφ κατοικειωσαν εν γη γεσεμ ει δε επιστη οτι εισιν εν αυτοις and the remainder." The clause "from which the present copy was derived" is not quite clear (see Ceriani in his note on the Syrohexaplaris *ad locum*); but Montfaucon's deductions (see Origen, ed. Lommatzsch, XXIV, 231, n. 1) in which Bishop Ussher and Hody (p. 603) and among moderns Oeconomus (Swete, p. 65, n. 2) acquiesce are altogether off the mark. No matter, however, how that clause is to be understood, the scholion clearly testifies that in the Tetrapla already, and not, as Lietzmann would have it, in a subsequent separate edition, the text of the Septuagint was conformed to the order of the Hebrew and the other translations. To afford the reader an adequate understanding of the matter, I print here in parallel columns the older (common) text and the Tetrapla:

	Common Text	Tetrapla Text
	ειπεν δε φαραω τω ιωσηφ κατοικειωσαν εν γη γεσεμ ει δε επιστη οτι εισιν εν αυτοις ανδρες δυνατοι	ειπεν δε φαραω τω ιωσηφ λεγων ο πατηρ σου και οι αδελφοι σου ηκασιν προς σε ιδου η γη αιγυπτου εναντι-
5	καταστησον αυτους αρχοντας των εμων κτηνων ηλθον δε εις αιγυπτον προς ιωσηφ ιακωβ και οι υιοι αυτου και ηκουσεν	ον σου εστιν εν τη βελτιω- τη γη κατοικισον τον πατε- ρα σου και τους αδελφους σου κατοικειωσαν εν γη γεσεμ ει δε επιστη οτι εισιν
10	φαραω βασιλευς αιγυπτου και ειπεν φαραω προς ιωσηφ λεγων ο πατηρ σου και οι αδελφοι σου ηκασι προς σε ιδου η γη αιγυπτου εναντι-	εν αυτοις ανδρες δυνατοι καταστησον αυτους αρχοντας των εμων κτηνων
15	ον σου εστιν εν τη βελτιω- τη γη κατοικισον τον πατε- ρα σου και τους αδελφους σου	

The scholion is silent about the omission in the Tetrapla of ll. 7-10 of the common text, the purport of the note being merely to indicate the transposition of order. Origen's procedure amounted therefore to rearranging the common text so as to place ll. 12-17 immediately

after l. 1, omitting at the same time ll. 7-12. The Tetrapla text as printed above is extant in Curzon 66 of the British Museum; the Syrohexapla likewise has it, only that it places ll. 1-7 *sub asterisco* and in the margin adds the omitted ll. 7-12 of the common text (as far as σου; l. 11 it reads τω ιωσηφ for προς ιωσηφ), followed up by the remark: "This was found in another copy; in the tradition, however, of the Seventy [it is] not [found]." Ceriani finds it difficult to account for the asterisk; in the present form of the text it is indeed meaningless. The difficulty, however, admits of being straightened out.

If we turn to the apparatus of the Larger Cambridge Septuagint, we shall find in addition to the two forms of the text designated above as the common and the Tetrapla two further forms. The one found in a\* introduces between ll. 1 and 2 of the common text ll. 2-7 of the Tetrapla, but leaves the remainder of the common text intact; the duplication which ensues simply illustrates the process of mixture in our codices; on the other hand, kmoqu which start out like a\* rid themselves of the duplication by curtailing the end: qu omit ll. 11-17, k leaves off at αυτου l. 9, c (*spatio 5 litt relicto*) o omit ll. 12-17, m replaces these lines by αγαγε αυτους προς με. Much more important is the text of c<sub>2</sub>. It likewise curtails the common text by omitting ll. 12-17; the omission of και ηκουσεν φαραω βασιλευς αιγυπτου ll. 9 f. may and may not be accidental; but between ll. 1 and 2 it inserts ο πατηρ σου και οι αδελφοι σου εληλυθασιν (=km) προς σε η γη αιγυπτου εις προσωπον σου εστιν εν αγαθω τοπω καθισον (=m, cf. καθισαι k) τον πατερα σου και τους αδελφους σου. For αγαθω τοπω read αγαθωτατω; the error led to the omission of της γης. I take it that c<sub>2</sub> goes back to a text which read as follows: ειπεν δε φαραω τω ιωσηφ ✕ λεγων ο πατηρ σου και οι αδελφοι σου εληλυθασιν προς σε η γη αιγυπτου εις προσωπον σου εστιν εν αγαθωτατω της γης καθισον τον πατερα σου και τους αδελφους σου: κατοικειτωσαν εν γη γεσεμ ει δε επιστη οτι εισιν εν αυτοις ανδρες δυνατοι καταστησον αυτους αρχοντας των εμων κτηνων — ηλθον δε εις αιγυπτον προς ιωσηφ ιακωβ και οι υιοι αυτου και ηκουσεν φαραω βασιλευς αιγυπτου και ειπεν φαραω τω ιωσηφ λεγων ο πατηρ σου και οι αδελφοι σου ηκασι προς σε ιδου η γη αιγυπτου εναντιον σου εστιν εν τη βελτιστη γη κατοικισον τον πατερα σου και τους αδελφους σου: Here we are face to face with a procedure which instead of turning the common text upside down

fills up a gap from a neighboring column—the language in the present case is unmistakably Aquila's—and, when a complex is reached which is wanting in the Hebrew at the place where it occurs, obelizes it. If then the Tetrapla text operated with transposition, the recension which leaves the order unchanged but employs asterisks and obeli must have been the Hexapla. See Lindl, *Oktateuchkatene*, pp. 89 ff., where the point of difference between Hexapla and Tetrapla is recognized, though the discussion of the present passage is not free from obscurity. Whether either edition clung tenaciously to one method to the exclusion of the other so that a text exhibiting in one and the same book now the Hexapla (original order preserved) now the Tetrapla (order transposed) method may be said to be due to an eclectic use of both editions is a subject worthy of the attention of the Septuagint student.

In the Book of Joshua, for instance, one may find examples of most skilful transposition, and on the other hand cases where the original order is preserved, so that its adjustment to the Hebrew requires duplication of a textual element: 6:13 f. will illustrate the one and 19:47–9 the other procedure. In either case the text on the left is the common, while on the right the Origenic text is here shown.

6:13 f.

	και οι επτα ιερεις οι φεροντες τας σαλπιγγας τας επτα	και οι επτα ιερεις οι φεροντες τας επτα σαλπιγγας ※ τας ιερας:
5	προεπορευοντο  εναντιον κυριου και μετα ταυτα εισεπορευοντο οι μαχιμοι	εναντιον ※ κιβωτου: κυριου προεπορευοντο και — οι ιερεις: εσαλπισαν
10	και ο λοιπος οχλος οπισθε της κιβωτου της διαθηκης κυριου και οι ιερεις	ταις σαλπιγγιν και ο λοιπος οχλος αμα και οι μαχιμοι εισεπορευοντο μετα ταυτα και ο λοιπος οχλος οπισθεν της κιβωτου
15	εσαλπισαν ταις σαλπιγγι και ο λοιπος οχλος απας	— της διαθηκης: κυριου



20

περικυκλωσε την πολιν

εγγυθεν

και απηλθεν παλιν κτλ.

※ πορευομενοι

※ και σαλπιζοντες

※ ταις κερατιναις

※ και: περικυκλωσαν την πολιν

※ εν τη ημερα τη δευτερα απαξ:

└ εγγυθεν:

και απηλθον παλιν κτλ.

19: 47-9

αυτη η κληρονομια

φυλης υιων δαν

5 κατα δημους αυτων

αι πολεις αυτων

και αι κωμαι αυτων

και ουκ εξεθλιψαν

οι υιοι δαν τον αμορραιον

10 τον θλιβοντα αυτους εν τω ορει

και ουκ ειων αυτους

οι αμορραιοι καταβηκαι

εις την κοιλαδα

και εθλιψαν απ αυτων

15 το οριον της μεριδος αυτων

και επορευθησαν οι υιοι ιουδα

και επολεμησαν την λαχεις

και κατελαβοντο αυτην

και επαταξαν αυτην

20 εν στοματι μαχαιρας

και κατωκησαν αυτην

και εκαλεσαν το ονομα αυτης

λασενδακ

25

30

35 και ο αμορραιος

※ και εξηλθεν το οριον

※ υιων δαν απ αυτων:

└ αυτη η κληρονομια

└ φυλης υιων δαν

└ κατα δημους αυτων

└ αι πολεις

└ και αι κωμαι αυτων

└ και ουκ εξεθλιψαν

└ οι υιοι δαν τον αμορραιον

└ τον θλιβοντα αυτους εν τω ορει

└ και ουκ ειων

└ καταβηκαι αυτους

└ εις γην κολλαθα

└ και εθλιβον επ αυτων

└ το οριον της μεριδος αυτων:

και επορευθησαν οι υιοι δαν

και επολεμησαν την λεσεμ

και κατελαβοντο αυτην

και επαταξαν αυτην

εν στοματι μαχαιρας

※ και κατεκληρονομησαν αυτην:

και κατωκησαν εν αυτη

και εκαλεσαν το ονομα της

λεσεμ δαν

※ κατα το ονομα δαν

※ του πατρος αυτων

※ αυτη η κληρονομια

※ φυλης υιων δαν

※ κατα συγγενειας αυτων

※ αι πολεις αυται

※ και αι επαυλεις αυτων

※ και συνετελεσαν

※ του κληροδοτησαι την γην

※ εις τα ορια αυτης:

└ και ο αμορραιος

υπεμεινεν του κατοικειν	⊢ υπερμεινεν του κατοικειν
εν ελωμ και εν σαλαμειν	⊢ εν αιλωμ και εν σαλαμειμ
και εβαρυνθη η χειρ του εφραιμ	⊢ και εβαρυνθη η χειρ του εφραιμ
επ αυτους	⊢ επ αυτους
40 και εγενοντο αυτοις εις φορον	⊢ και εγενοντο αυτοις εις φορον
και επορευθησαν	⊢ και επορευθησαν
εμβατευσαι την γην	⊢ εμβατευσαι την γην
κατα το οριον αυτων	⊢ κατα το οριον αυτων:
και εδωκαν κτλ.	και εδωκαν κτλ.

Note in the latter passage two clear duplicates: ll. 1 f. and ll. 14 f., ll. 27-31 and ll. 3-7. Naturally even in the former passage there was occasion to supply a gap or to athetize a plus. In these two examples the area covered is rather extensive. Many more are available where the compass is a much smaller one and where both methods are revealed in our sources. Suffice it to say that both procedures are traceable to Hexapla-Tetrapla antedating the separate edition which rests on either or on both together. The Hexaplaric method was certainly a cumbersome and wasteful one, and it is safe to assume that in last chapters of Exodus (see the long marginal note reproduced by Field, p. 159, n. 31) or in Jeremiah and the like transposition was resorted to already in the Hexapla. As for the passage in Genesis with which we started, Augustine (*Vienna Corpus*, XXVIII, 2, 81) expressly records the asterisks and obeli: "quorum omnium in codicibus graecis, qui a diligentioribus conscripti sunt, quaedam obeliscos habent et significant ea quae in hebraeo non inveniuntur et in Septuaginta inveniuntur, quaedam asteriscos, quibus, ea significantur quae habent hebraei nec habent Septuaginta."

The "codices graeci, qui a diligentioribus conscripti sunt" were naturally for Augustine the Eusebian excerpts from Hexapla-Tetrapla; but apparently his manuscript differed from the Syrohexaplaris and reproduced to all intents and purposes the text of c<sub>2</sub>. Our sources, it is quite true, do not take us back immediately to Hexapla and Tetrapla; we have reason to believe that the separate editions based on them were manifold and it is quite possible that the process of recension went on in Palestine after Eusebius. Such editions lay before Jerome and it is to be conceded that Lietzmann is right when he maintains that when the church Father speaks of asterisks and obeli he in the first instance alludes to the copies near at hand.

It must not be forgotten, however, that there is a certain looseness of speech in Jerome's statements on the subject; but when all the data in his writings are collected there can be no question that his opinion was that the critical signs were already extant in the Hexapla. Lietzmann certainly misinterprets Jerome's statement in the preface to his commentary on Daniel: the *editio vulgata* into which Origen is said to have admitted foreign matter from Theodotion *sub asterisco* is not the Eusebian excerpt, but clearly the common text of the Septuagint as Origen found it before him. And so the references in the margins of Greek codices to the Hexapla may immediately refer to Eusebian excerpts and codices based on them; but ultimately they really have the original source in mind, and that was Hexapla or Tetrapla.

Lietzmann is not quite sure whether the absence of critical signs in the Mercati palimpsest fragments may not have been due to carelessness, though Mercati himself (see Ottley, p. 500) is inclined to assume that they were first introduced in the Tetrapla or in the Septuagint text extracted from Origen's volumes. The Milan fragment still remains unedited. Through Mercati's kindness Lietzmann was enabled to compare its readings with Jerome's valuable data in his famous letter to Sunnia and Fretela (*Vienna Corpus*, LV, 247-89), and the result goes to show that while for the most part the palimpsest readings accord with the common text there are nevertheless found therein additions asterisked in the Gallic Psalter. But in view of the conclusions of Rahlfs (*Septuaginta-Studien*, II [1907], 109-22), who, though unable to use the Milan text beyond the short specimen containing the first four verses of Ps. 45, has with his usual thoroughness gone into all the high- and by-ways of the Hexaplaric Psalter, we may discount the testimony of the Mercati palimpsest, which Lietzmann himself concedes cannot be pronounced an accurate copy of the Hexapla.

When the whole thing is sifted it simply comes to this, that Lietzmann casts doubt upon Field's contention that the critical signs were used in the original Hexapla; but even if the Jena critic should be right in his opinion that asterisks and obeli were first introduced by Origen in a subsequent edition of the Septuagint based upon his previous work, the signs would still be Origen's. To deny

them Origenic derivation would indeed be impossible, considering that Origen repeatedly—compare for example his letter to Africanus—speaks of them as introduced by himself. None but Origen would have been competent to place them, though his amanuenses in all likelihood were careless enough at times; errors were no doubt amplified in the copies made under Eusebian supervision until at length the signs were altogether dispensed with and are now found only in the fewest Greek manuscripts and in the Syrohexaplaris. The state of the signs in these witnesses is often a lamentable one: we find them interchanged, i.e., the asterisk is replaced by the obelus and vice versa; especially faulty is the delimitation of the compass asterisked or athetized, the signs in front and back being misplaced or wanting altogether. Much remains to be done in clearing away the rubbish of tradition. How much is at stake is patent enough to those who with Lagarde know that upon the proper knowledge of Origen's activity in adding, curtailing, and altering depends our ability to recover the unrevised text which alone will lead the way to the original Septuagint. But even for the purposes of ascertaining the status of the Hebrew text in the days of Rabbi Hillel, with whom Origen consorted, and higher up in the times of Akiba, who sponsored Aquila, the literal translator who to Origen represented most faithfully the Hebrew truth, the asterisks and the obeli have an importance which cannot be exaggerated. If Ginsburg admits into his text behind Josh. 21:35 the two verses which Baer relegates to the margin, all of Ginsburg's arguments to the contrary notwithstanding, Origen's obeli testify that the verses were absent in Aquila's translation, hence in Akiba's Bible, just as the Gaon Hai at a later date did not recognize them. If De Rossi who operated with Masius is inclined to distrust him on the ground that "*saepe ex sola coniectura et ex Hebraici textus, quem habebat prae manibus, auctoritate notat, non semper ex auctoritate hexaplaris ms.*" the British Museum manuscript edited by Lagarde fortunately supports Masius in this place barring an insignificant displacement. To operate with the received Hebrew text in order to rectify the signs in Origen would of course amount to reasoning in a circle, though here and there and only after an intimate acquaintance with Origen's method as well as with the character of our tradition there may

be nothing left for us but to fall back upon the Massoretic text. For if Massoretic text and Origen are found to square with each other everywhere else, the decision in a few doubtful cases cannot but turn out in favor of M.T. Equally uncritical it would be to operate with such Greek codices as have withstood contamination with the Origenic recension. For first we must have Origen reconstructed from within before we can employ extraneous testimony. Nevertheless even in this respect judicious criticism is the remedy. But fortunately we possess still other means of controlling the tradition concerning the placing of the signs. This brings me to a subject not quite adequately dealt with by Swete even in the latest edition, to wit, the definition of the term "Hexaplaric."

Swete of course points out on p. 78 and elsewhere the difference between (relatively) pure and so-called Hexaplaric codices and then again between them and the mixed texts. But if we bear in mind the three sides to Origen's recension, namely (a) supplying gaps *sub asterisco*, (b) marking additions as spurious by means of the obelus, and (c) transposing elements of the text and introducing tacit changes—the proper names in particular were submitted to correction—the extant manuscripts one and all will have to be characterized with a view to these three points. Origenic additions will be found in all our codices; it is simply a question of degree. The greatest number of additions will be found in the fewest, which are indeed of the purest sort. How small the number is may be judged from the fact that in Joshua I am able at present to point just to three: G, Curzon 66 of the British Museum, and Vat. gr. 330 (Holmes-Parsons 108, the basis of the Complutensian and with the Chisianus R. vi. 38—H-P 19—of Lagarde's edition; the common ancestor of both, however, begins to be Hexaplaric only from 2:18 middle, the beginning of the book was copied from a different MS belonging to the Syrian recension and almost identical with Reg. gr. 6 of the National Library in Paris—H-P 118); but there may be one or two more. But even these few divide on occasion; whether the differences go back to the two forms of Origen's work I have not as yet been able to decide. But right now, when the second point is had in mind, it must be said that Curzon 66 shows a predilection for omitting obelized passages which may be paralleled in other codices (for instance Vat. Reg.

gr. 10—H-P 58) and notably in the Complutensian edition (cf. the strictures of Masius). But additions by themselves, no matter how numerous, cannot be taken as a title to Hexaplaric denomination; for additions may be found imbedded in a text which otherwise stands farthest away from the Hexaplaric recension. I have in mind the Ethiopic version or the Greek MS Vat. Reg. gr. 1—H-P 55, for instance. It may sound a paradox, but true it nevertheless is that the farther away a manuscript is from the Hexaplaric form or type the more numerous may be the additions embodied in the text or placed in the margin. Surely when the marginal reading is Hexaplaric, the text must belong somewhere else. The decisive point is the third: the form of the text outside of the asterisked and obelized elements. Accordingly I would define as a pure Hexaplaric text one that contains the greatest number of additions and at the same time conforms elsewhere to the tacit changes introduced by Origen. Next in order those MSS will still be entitled to Hexaplaric denomination which, though habitually thrusting out asterisked additions, conform otherwise to the Origenic text as found in the pure codices. If the Syrohexaplar be the standard, then, in Joshua at least, the number of such codices is very small indeed. Two twin MSS stand out most prominently: Coisl. gr. 2 (H-P 15) and Reg. gr. 2 (H-P 64). The latter is of particular interest; together with Laur. Med. Pal. 242 (H-P 18) and Gr. 3 of St. Mark's in Venice (H-P 121)—a fourth codex may have been used, but I am not able to identify it—it served as the basis of the composite Aldine edition; from Montfaucon's statement apud Field I, 3 I gather that it was carried away from Italy by Francis I.

The process of excising asterisked passages began early. Jerome's prescription is only too well known: "vis amator esse verus septuaginta interpretum? non legas ea, quae sub asteriscis sunt, immo rade de voluminibus, ut veterum te fautorem probes"; to which he slyly adds: "quod si feceris, omnes ecclesiarum bibliothecas condemnare cogeris. vix enim unus aut alter invenietur liber, qui ista non habeat" (epistle cxii ad Augustinum; *Vienna Corpus*, LV, 389). A scribe following the prescription might produce a manuscript which on the surface would look like an unrevised text. Yet he will betray himself occasionally. A flagrant case I have

met with in Josh. 15:9. The Hebrew reads: וַיִּצַח אֶל עֵרִי דָר עֶרְוֹן. B has *και διεκβαλλει εις το ορος εφρων*, and so the Coptic and Ethiopic (vss. 7-12 are omitted in cod. H-P 55), but also the uncial N as well as cod. Meteoron in Thessaly (a twin of F—Codex Ambrosianus—which is not available here) and Paris. Reg. gr. 3 (H-P 56). Origen wrote: *και διεκβαλλει* \* *επι κωμας: ορος εφρων*, the reading being found in G, Curzon 66 and Vat. gr. 330, also in Vat. Reg. gr. 10 (H-P 58), which here as often retains the addition. On the margin of cod. H-P 85 the reading is assigned to ο' (i.e., the Origenic Septuagint) and Aquila, while Theodotion is credited with *και διεκβαλλει εις γαι ορος εφρων*, which reading is imbedded in all the witnesses (including the Old Latin) belonging to the Antiochene recension (see my paper in this Journal, XXVIII, 1 ff., and Moore, *ibid.*, XXIX, 37 ff.). Origen's procedure is perfectly clear: he supplied the gap in the common text from Aquila, borrowing noun and preposition, and then changed the accusative *ορος* into the genitive *ορους*. Now a class of manuscripts consisting of A (Codex Alexandrinus) Θ (Washington codex), codd. gr. 2 and 3 of St. Mark's, Reg. gr. 1 and Coisl. gr. 3 of Paris, Athous (Laur.) γ. 112 (with which go, according to Parsons, 53 and 144; the other members of the group revert to the B reading), as also the subgroup Coisl. gr. 2 and Reg. gr. 2 of Paris and Laur. Med. Pal. 242 and Vat. gr. 1657 (naturally the Aldine follows suit), writes: *και διεκβαλλει ορους εφρων*. Naturally an impossible construction was the result; in the cursive MSS *ορους* was transformed into *δρους* (the twins Laur. Med. Pal. 242 and Vat. gr. 1657 add *ρους*), "borders"! The mischief is simply due to the fact that the archetypal scribe mechanically skipped the asterisked words and calmly left the surrounding text intact.

We should expect to find in this large class all the tacit changes introduced by Origen reproduced. That has certainly happened in the proper names in the majority of the class members. On the other hand, transposed sequences are found copied principally in Coisl. gr. 2 and Reg. gr. 2 of Paris. Either the bulk of the class, headed by the Alexandrinus and the Washington codex, handled the Origenic text eclectically, or else it rests on the Hexapla rather than Tetrapla, provided the two differed to the extent that would have to be assumed. If the latter alternative approve itself as true,

then the class will have independent value as a witness of the Hexapla; but if the former view be correct, then its importance will be greatly reduced. Nevertheless, these texts must not be set aside as useless. Those of them that habitually discard asterisked additions will help define the compass of all such elements in view of the fact adverted to above that the signs are often misplaced or wanting in the extant pure Hexaplaric codices. On the other hand, the copy of the Hexaplaric text which lay before the archetype of these mixed codices may have had its signs occasionally misplaced or wanting, which circumstance would account for asterisked elements either partially or wholly taken over. I have even reason to believe that the *Vorlage* was a glossed text and that the additions stood there on the margin or between the lines.

Field did a great and monumental piece of work in his day. For the most part he worked with material at second hand. Klostermann is right when he says: "Mehr Material und mehr Kritik verlangen wir; ersteres ist freilich leichter zu haben als letzteres, und beides leichter gefordert als besorgt." The reconstruction of Hexapla-Tetrapla is by no means an accomplished fact: it still remains to be done. An edition with a connected text based on the pure Hexaplaric texts with an apparatus culled from the mixed or crypto-hexaplaric codices must be the work of the future. "Darum muss, wer den echten Text wiederfinden will, ebenfalls Eklektiker sein." The same holds good of restoring even the text of a single recension; and what Lagarde meant by eclectic criticism was sufficiently explained by himself. The crypto-hexaplaric codices are the result of eclecticism and must accordingly be handled. We need them as auxiliaries. We may therefore congratulate ourselves that the uncial leading that class—the Codex Alexandrinus, the pride of England—formerly issued in autotype facsimile by the order of the trustees of the British Museum under the editorship of Sir E. Maunde Thompson has now by the order of the same trustees been made available to scholars in reduced photographic facsimile under the editorship of F. G. Kenyon.<sup>1</sup> By the side of the similar edition of the New Testament issued in 1909 we have now in 1915 the first

<sup>1</sup> British Museum: *The Codex Alexandrinus* (Royal MS 1 D v-viii) in reduced photographic facsimile. Old Testament: Part I, Genesis-Ruth. Printed by order of the Trustees. 1915.



part of the Old Testament comprising the Octateuch (Genesis–Ruth); may the succeeding parts follow soon. Grateful for this splendid gift, we in America may express another wish. The timeliness of it should be obvious. Let our leading universities and colleges unite in securing for their libraries photographs of as many manuscripts of the Greek Bible as feasible. They are comparatively speaking inexpensive and, while inferior to the originals, will go a long way to make Septuagint studies possible in this country. With Swete's *Introduction* as a guide, with whatever facsimile editions we already possess, the photographs will place us in a position to address ourselves to the various tasks outlined by Swete in the concluding pages of his book. The road to the original Septuagint leads past many stations: to recover these milestones of the past must be our united effort.

## Critical Notes

### I. HEB. *evyōnā*, "SOUL"

In my *Ecclesiastes* (Baltimore, 1905) I pointed out that *āvtyōnā*, Eccles. 12:5, should be read *evyōnā*, "the poor one," i.e., "the soul," just as we must read, with Thrupp, in Ps. 22:21, instead of *āntīhānī*, "Thou hast answered me," *āntiyathī*, "my wretched one," i.e., "my soul"; see *Psalms* (SBOT),<sup>1</sup> p. 79, l. 51; cf. Wellhausen's translation in the Polychrome Bible. Heb. *haghāv* in our passage denotes a "larva" or "chrysalis," and Greek *psychē* signifies both "soul" and "butterfly"; cf. Goethe's *Faust*, vs. 6730: "Die Raupe schon, die Chrysalide deutet | Den künftigen bunten Schmetterling"; *ibid.*, 11660: "Das ist das Seelchen, Psyche mit den Flügeln, | Die rupft ihr aus, so ist's ein garstiger Wurm"; 11981: "Freudig empfangen wir | Diesen im Puppenstand"; 9657: "Gleich dem fertigen Schmetterling, | Der aus starrem Puppenzwang | Flügel entfaltend behendig schlüpft, | Sonnedurchstrahlten Äther kühn | Und mutwillig durchflatternd." In the anonymous memoir *The Empress Frederick*, published by Dodd, Mead & Co. (New York, 1914), the death of this remarkable daughter of Queen Victoria is described as follows: "A butterfly flew into the room, and hovered for a while over the dying Empress; and when she had breathed her last, it spread its wings, and flew out into the free air again."

The explanation of *āvtyōnā* as "the poor one" = "the soul" was suggested fifty-five years ago by H. A. Hahn in his *Commentar über das Predigerbuch Salomo's* (Leipzig, 1860), p. 191; he also referred to *yēhīdhathī* in Ps. 22:21. On p. 189 he remarks: "Statt die Heuschrecke entlastet sich würden wir sagen der Schmetterling entpuppt sich." Hahn, who was the eldest son of the editor of the *Biblica Hebraica* (Leipzig, 1831), August Hahn, rightly saw that *āvtyōnā* should be read *evyōnā*, feminine of *evyōn*, "poor," and that it denoted the "soul." Wetzstein in Delitzsch's *Hohes Lied und Koheleth* (Leipzig, 1875), pp. 445, 450, explained *evyōnā* as "das armselige Leben"; cf. Gesenius' *Thes.* (1835), p. 13a, below. Gesenius also states: "Kimchi animam intelligit." J. D. Michaelis remarked in his translation of the OT, Part 7 (Göttingen, 1778), p. 162: "Die Heuschrecke ist zu Anfang ein Wurm, wird aber nach der ersten Häutung ein gehendes und springendes Insect: in diesem Zustande bleibt sie noch nach der zweiten und dritten Häutung, allein nach der letzten wird sie geflügelt. Es scheint, die Hebräer haben diese letzte Verwandlung und Vervollkommenerung der Heuschrecke ebenso zum Bilde eines besseren Lebens der Seele nach dem Tode gebraucht, als die Griechen die Verwandlung der Raupe zum Schmetterling."

<sup>1</sup> For the abbreviations see list of abbreviations in article "Assyr. *ramku*, 'priest' = Heb. *komer*," *AJSL*, XXXII, 64.

Heb. *istabbél* in Eccles. 12:5 must not be derived from *sabál*, "to bear" or "carry" a burden or load (=Assyr. *zabálu*, with partial assimilation of the *s* to the *b*; cf. *ZDMG*, LXIV, 708, l. 20): it is a transposition of *saláb* = Ethiop. *saldaba*, "to strip, spoil, rob," Arab. *sálaba*, from which we have in modern Arabic *salb*, "raw silk" drawn off from the cocoons (syn. *qazz*). Also Heb. *mešit* (Ezek. 16:10, 13) means "what is drawn off" (from the cocoons). In the gloss to the poem "The Utterance on Nineveh" (ca. 607 B.C.) in Nah. 3:16b, the verb *pašdál* is used for the exuviation of the locust. "The silkworm molts" would be in Hebrew: *Tóláth ham-mešit tithpaššét eth-'órâh*. The mulberry silkworm molts four times, about the sixth, tenth, fifteenth, and twenty-third days after hatching, whereas the locust molts six times: immediately after leaving the egg, then on the sixth, thirteenth, twenty-first, thirty-first, and fiftieth days. Heb. *ḥagáb*, "locust," must be connected with Arab. *jāḥafa*, "to strip, peel," just as Arab. *jarād*, "locust" (cf. *ZAT*, XXXV, 123) is derived from *jarada*, "to strip, peel." The *b* in Heb. *ḥagáb* is due to partial assimilation of the *p* to the *g*. For Arab. *sálaba* and the "exuviation" (or "ecdysis") of the locust see my *Book of Nahum* (Baltimore, 1907), p. 33 (= *JBL*, XXVI, 33), and note 34 to my paper, "Joel's Poem on the Locusts" in *ÆNIA* (Athens, 1912), p. 191.

For "the chrysalis lies inert" = Heb. *wē-istabbél ḥāḥ-ḥaghāv* it would be more accurate to say "the larva molts." *Wē-thaphér* means: ["the fully developed moth] bursts [the shell]." Cf. modern Arab. *fārfara* and *fārša*, "to pierce the cocoon," *farfār*, "silk-moth"; see my *Kohleth* (Leipzig, 1905), p. 33.

## II. THE HEBREW NAMES FOR "OSTRICH"

In my *Book of Micah* (Chicago, 1910), p. 4 (= *AJSL*, XXVII, 4), I translated the first couplet of Micah's patriotic elegy on the Assyrian invasion (701 B.C.):

Therefore I'll wail and howl	unclad and barefoot;
I'll make a wail like jackals	and daughters-of-deserts.

I added in the "Notes" (p. 24) that "daughter-of-deserts" denoted "ostriches," and that at night the ostriches emitted a hoarse, melancholy note resembling the lowing of an ox in pain (cf. n. 24 to my paper, "Micah's Capucinade" in *JBL*, XXIX, 99).

The rendering "daughters-of-deserts" for Heb. *bēnōth-ya'nā* (which is found in six passages of the OT, with the singular *bath-ya'nā* in two passages) was advocated by Wetzstein in Franz Delitzsch's *Iob*<sup>2</sup>, 513. The ostrich inhabits the most arid districts, and is found in the Syrian desert east of Damascus. The Arabs call the ostrich *abū-* (or *umm-*) *aḥ-ḡaḥārā*, i.e., "father [or mother] of the deserts." Wetzstein's combination of Heb. *ya'nā* with Arab. *wā'nah*, "desert," was suggested by J. D. Michaelis in

1786 (see Gesenius, *Thes.* 609b). Gesenius combined Heb. *ya'nā* with Syr. *ya'nā*, "greedy, gluttonous," but he mentioned also Maurer's explanation (1835) who regarded *ya'nā* as a derivative of *'anā*, "to sing" or "cry," Syr. *'annī*, Arab. *ḡānnā*. This etymology (which goes back to Kimchi) has been abandoned by the majority of Hebraists, although it is undoubtedly correct.

In the same way Syr. *na'āmā*, "ostrich," is derived from the stem *na'im*, "to sound," which appears in Arabic as *nāḡima*. Arab. *na'am*, "ostrich," must be regarded as an Aramaic loanword; the genuine Arabic form would be *naḡḡām* (contrast Fleischer in Levy's Targum. dict. II, 570). I have pointed out (*WF* 222, below), that *na'im zēmtrōth Israel* (II Sam. 23:1) means neither "the sweet psalmist of Israel," nor "pleasant in the psalms of Israel," nor "the Joy of the songs of Israel," but "chanted in Israel's songs, sung in Israel's lays." The stem *na'am*, "to sing," seems to be a transposition of *'anām*, and both *'anām* and *'anā*, "to sing" (cf. Arab. *taḡānnā*, "to sing a song"; *uḡnīyah*, plur. *aḡānī*, "song") are derived from the same root *ḡan*. For *na'am* = *'anā* = *'āniya* cf. Arab. *qāhima* = *qāhiya* (see *AJSL*, XXIII, 228 and 252). Wetzstein thought that the Arabic name of the ostrich, *na'am*, referred to the softness of its plumes (cf. Gesenius' dict.<sup>9</sup>, 543a). On the other hand, he explained *rēnanīm* (*š šabbāḥīn*) in Job 39:13 as "criers, screechers, wailers." For *rēnanīm* we must read *rannānā* (cf. Arab. *rannān*, "sounding, vibrating, resounding"), i.e., an intensive form like Syr. *na'āmā* and *š šabbāḥ* in Job 39:13. It is not necessary to substitute *yē'enīm* (Lam. 4:3) for *rēnanīm*. The cry of the ostrich is called in Arabic *zimār* (cf. *AJSL*, XXVI, 2). The correct explanation of Heb. *ya'nā* = "screech, wail," was given in Fürst's dictionary (Leipzig, 1876). The Samaritan Version has for Heb. *bath-ya'nā*: *בִּית עֲנִיָּה*, "daughter of wailing" (cf. *ṭ innīthā* and *innūyā*, "lament").

### III. ASSYR. *lām iṣṣāri ṣabāri*, "BEFORE THE BIRDS CHEEP"

In my *Ecclesiastes* (Baltimore, 1905), p. 33, I translated the hemistich *wē-yaqām lē-qōl haṣ-ṣippōr*, Eccles. 12:4: "He rises at the birds' first cheep." In the notes I added: "His sleep is short; he awakes when the birds begin to chirp at daybreak" (or, rather, before dawn; cf. Mark 13:35). Zapletal, *Kohelet* (Freiburg i.-B., 1911), pp. 228, 235, following P. de Jong (1861) and Wildeboer, reads *wē-iqmāl qōl haṣ-ṣippōr*, which is supposed to mean "Und das Gezwitscher der Vögel erstirbt." Julius Levy, *Qoheleth* (Leipzig, 1912), p. 134, gives the same rendering; also E. Podechard, *L'Ecclesiaste* (Paris, 1912), p. 495, reads: "Et 'se fait silencieuse' la voix de l'oiseau." Volz in *Die Schriften des AT*, edited by Gressmann, Gunkel, etc., Parts 15-17 (Göttingen, 1911), p. 251, renders: "das Vogelgezwitscher verklingt, und die Sängerrinnen all verstummen," reading *wē-iddōm* instead of *wē-yaqām*; but *damām* does not mean "to die away" (see *AJSL*, XXVI, 5; *WZKM*, XXIII, 365; *JBL*, XXXII, 242).

The correct explanation of Eccles. 12:4b ("il se levera à la voix de l'oiseau, c'est-à-dire, ils ne peuvent pas dormir et sont toujours éveillés au chant du coq") is found in the second chapter of the fourth discourse ("De la vieillesse") of André du Laurens, who was physician in ordinary to King Henry IV of France (1589-1610) and regius professor in the Medical Faculty of Montpellier; see *Œuvres d'André du Laurens, recueillies et traduites en français par Theophile Gelée* (Rouen, 1621), p. 52. Hengstenberg, *Der Prediger Salomo* (Berlin, 1859), p. 250, said: "Er erhebt sich . . . sobald die Vögel zu singen anfangen, am frühesten Morgen; das Alter hat keinen Schlaf"; cf. also Wright, *Kohleth* (London, 1883), p. 248, and Volck in Strack-Zöckler's commentary (1889).

My explanation has been followed in Barton's commentary (New York, 1908), pp. 180, 189, and it is supported by the Assyrian phrase *ina šēri<sup>m</sup> lām iṣṣûri ṣabâri*, which is quoted, but not translated, in *HW*, 378b, 559a; it means, of course, "in the morning, before the birds cheep." Assy. *ṣabâru* stand; for *ṣapâru*, "to pipe" (as a bird or as wind). Also in Arabic, *ṣafara* signifies "to pipe, to whistle" (cf. Goethe's *Faust*, vs. 7981: *sie zwischern pfeifend*). The primary connotation of Aram. *ṣāfrâ*, "daybreak, dawn," is "piping," i.e., the time when the birds begin to cheep, whereas *zamîr*, Cant. 2:12, denotes the jubilant voice of spring when the birds mate (*AJSL*, XXVI, 3). The original meaning of Heb. *ṣippôr*, "bird," is "piper." Assy. *iṣṣûru* stands for *iṣpâru*=Arab. *'uṣfâr*; for the assimilation of the *p* to the preceding *ç* cf. modern Arabic *nuṣṣ=nuṣf=niṣf*, "half" (*BAL*, 94), and for the initial 'Ain in Arabic *'uṣfâr* cf. Arab. *'ausaj*, "thorn"=Assyr. *ašagu* for *wašagu* (*ZDMG*, LXIV, 714).

The second hemistich of Eccles. 12:4b, *wē-iššahhû kol-bênôth haš-šîr*, means "though all daughters of music [i.e., 'musical sounds'] be muffled" [lit. "lowered, depressed," i.e., "softened, deadened, stifled, made indistinct"). The old man's sleep is short, he awakes when the birds begin to cheep before dawn, although he has become hard of hearing. For *wē*= "although," see *GK<sup>2</sup>*, § 141, *e*, and for *bênôth haš-šîr*= "musical sounds" (*GK<sup>2</sup>*, § 128, *v*), cf. Syr. *bênôth-qâlê*, "sounds, words"; *bath-qâlâ* mean: literally "daughter of the voice"; it is used also for "echo," just as the post-biblical Heb. *bath-qôl* has this meaning, whereas in the Siloam Inscription an "echo" is called *zadêh*=*ṣadêh*=Arab. *ṣāda* (*ZDMG*, LXV, 565; contrast *JAOS*, XXII, 59).

PAUL HAUPT

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ANTONIUS RHETOR ON VERSIFICATION. WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND TWO APPENDICES. <i>By Martin Sprengling</i>	145-216
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## ANTONIUS RHETOR ON VERSIFICATION WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND TWO APPENDICES

BY MARTIN SPRENGLING  
University of Chicago

Ephrem Syrus is not a great poet to everybody's taste. Singing a simile to death in praise of a saint or applying strong epithets to dead-and-gone heretics in long, carefully numbered series of syllables will not impress many modern, occidental readers as good poetry. Yet, such as he is, in the very bulk of his works, in the variety of topics treated and of legitimate meters and strophic structures employed, in a kind of facile inventiveness, in the esteem in which he was held by a great number of his contemporaries and a still greater number of his countrymen of succeeding generations, Ephrem is the Syriac poet *par excellence*; and perhaps it is, as Duval (*Lit. Syr.*, p. 13) says, that the Syrians "saw excellences, where we find faults." As Ephrem is the first of Syriac poets whose works have been preserved to us in quantity, so he became a kind of Syriac Homer, the type and model of classic Syriac poetry.

A new, sumptuous edition of Ephrem's complete works, as preserved in the original tongue and in translations, is in process of publication, as the first fasciculus of the first volume, dated Rome, 1915, shows.<sup>1</sup> The former attempt at a similar edition, made at

<sup>1</sup> The full title is: *S. Ephraem Syri Opera. Textum Syriacum Graecum Latinum ad fidem codicum recensuit, prolegomenis notis indicibus instruxit Sylvius Joseph Mercati. Tomus primus, Fasc. primus. Sermones in Abraham et Isaac, In Basilium Magnum, In Eliam . . . Romae, Sumptibus Pontifici Instituti Biblici, 1915.* It forms in turn Vol. I of a larger series: *Monumenta Biblica et Ecclesiastica.*



Rome under papal auspices, was good enough in its day, the end of the first half of the eighteenth century, but has long since become superannuated. Both flow through the channel of papal munificence. The former was a gift of the Orient to the Occident; it was brought out by that brilliant Maronite family, who laid in Europe the foundations of an adequate knowledge of Syriac literature, the Assemanis (*as-Sim'ānī*), and by their friend Father Benedictus (i.e., Mubarak). In the present edition the Occident returns the favor with interest. Not only will the text of Ephrem here published have the benefit of all the improvements modern technique can supply, but it is avowedly the intent of this whole edition with all the labor therein involved to furnish a reliable basis for the exact study of classical Syriac poetics and versification and its supposed influence on the new turn taken by Byzantine and Latin verse in the early Middle Ages.

It is a significant fact that the chief interest of the new editor of Ephrem is centered in the laws of Syriac and Byzantine and mediaeval Latin versification. Mercati is a pupil and evidently a thoroughgoing follower of W. Meyer of Speyer (Mercati, *op. cit.*, Proem *passim*, and especially p. xiv). W. Meyer is an expert pioneer and explorer in the field of mediaeval Latin, and incidentally also of Byzantine, versification, as his two volumes of *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Rhythmik* (Berlin, 1905) amply demonstrate. He is interested in Syriac versification in general and in Ephrem and the Greek translations of his works in particular as in one of the influences which gave rise to the Christian poetry of Byzantium and Rome, and through these to some of the peculiarities of our own modern poetry, Germanic and Romance. For his knowledge of Syriac and Hebrew versification he seems to have depended chiefly upon Hahn and, perhaps, Bickell, and was accordingly misled in several particulars. One of these faulty assumptions, a supposedly rigid disposition of accents at the close of each Syriac verse, he has since retracted upon the advice of Nöldeke (*op. cit.*, I, 11). On the matter of rhyme Meyer is still somewhat at fault, and Eduard Norden (*Antike Kunstprosa*, 810-908; *Nachträge*, 11-13) is fuller and nearer right, though Meyer's presentation (*op. cit.*, II, 122-26) is neither so one-sided nor so hopeless as would

appear from Norden's statements. For the rest, in his supposition that Semitic models had much to do with the prevalence of the acrostich and with the principle of syllable-counting in mediaeval Christian poetry, Meyer has in matter and manner a better case than Norden and others seem willing to admit.<sup>1</sup>

It is largely to furnish a trustworthy text as a basis for the demonstration of this theory that Mercati has undertaken the new edition of Ephrem. The undertaking is praiseworthy enough, and the object is not unworthy. It is to be hoped, however, that the theory will not bias the restitution of the text. For Ephrem after all is of some value in other directions, and his works contain, besides much mere verse-making of more than Victorian length and tiresomeness, some poems<sup>2</sup> and passages of great beauty, as the opinion and the loans of the great Byzantine poet Romanos testify (Krumbacher, *loc. cit.*). And for our better knowledge of classical Syriac versification also *one of the prime requisites* is a text of Ephrem resting upon sound general text-critical principles not unduly influenced by any special theory on the history of versification.

As does this introductory résumé,<sup>3</sup> so must every examination and exposition of classical Syriac verse take Ephrem for its starting-point. It is one of the merits of Hubert Grimme,<sup>4</sup> for which he has been unduly criticized, that he recognized this and acted upon it. If Becq de Fouquières was justified in basing his fundamental treatise

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Krumbacher, "Die Griechische Literatur des Mittelalters" in *Kultur der Gegenwart, Griechische und Lateinische Literatur und Sprache*, 1905, pp. 259 and 262; also Baumstark, *Die chr. Lit. des Orients, I* (Sammlung Götschen, No. 527), Leipzig, 1911, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., e.g., the sprightly hymn on the Virgin Mary, Lamy, II, 538 ff., No. 6, and the stately and impressive 11th hymn on the holy martyrs, Lamy, III, 711 ff.

<sup>3</sup> This sketch of the work hitherto done on Syriac prosody, written partly in appreciation of Mercati's new edition of Ephrem, partly as an introduction to the publication of a portion of the Harvard manuscript of Anthony of Tagrit, covers the ground with some fulness, because nothing of the sort, accessible to English students and readers, seems to be in existence. The only thing of the kind of which I have found any trace is a treatise by Lamy *On Syriac Prosody*, said by Duval, *Journal asiatique*, 9<sup>e</sup> Série, t. X (1897), 65, n. 1, to be "dans les Actes du Congrès des Orientalistes de Londres de 1891." A diligent search of the Harvard College Library failed to bring to light this essay, which from Duval's statement must have formed an intermediate stage between Lamy's first effort in the Prolegomena of Vol. III of his *Ephraem Syri Hymni et Sermones* in 1889 and his finished presentation of the final results attained by him in Vol. IV of the same work (1902), coll. 469-96 (but see also the Foreword of this latter volume, p. vii). In any case, whatever Lamy did does not conflict with the present sketch, nor does the one make the other unnecessary.

<sup>4</sup> On Grimme's work in this field see pp. 157 ff.

on French versification for the classical period upon Racine alone—and his results would seem to have amply justified the brilliant Frenchman's procedure—then the needful refoundation of our knowledge of Syriac prosody will have to proceed from a thorough investigation of just such a text of Ephrem as Mercati intends to give us.

It should be Ephrem and no other. In the facility wherewith he molded the Syriac language into a variety of rhythmical forms, Ephrem represents the finished product of a developmental process of considerable length and intensity. Of what preceded him only the smallest remnants are preserved. The Carpentras stele (*CIS*, II, 141; with an English translation, in Cooke, *Northsemitic Inscriptions*, pp. 205 f.; photogravure in Lidzbarski, *Nordsem. Epigraphik*, Vol. II, Plate XXVIII, 3), in Egyptian Aramaic of the fourth or fifth century B.C., is almost certainly composed in verses of seven syllables each or thereabouts. Though not found in any extant document, yet of more significance than a mere accident, is Professor Charles C. Torrey's unforced retranslation of the Lukan Lord's Prayer into the Jewish Aramaic of Jesus' time, which fell naturally and without seeking under Professor Torrey's skilled hands into the same meter.<sup>1</sup> Coming thence to the two old gnostic hymns in the acts of Judas Thomas, the Soul's Wedding and the Song of the Apostle Judas Thomas in the Land of the Hindus, the latter often called the Hymn of the Soul, we are somewhat nearer the home of Edessene Syriac and on rather firmer ground.<sup>2</sup> The exact date of neither is known, but the time of Bardaisan, to whom they have by some scholars been assigned, the turn of the second and third centuries A.D., will not be far wrong. Both are composed in distichs of six-syllable verses. As to whether these beautiful rhapsodies belong to Bardaisan or not, no conclusive evidence has yet been offered. Very eminent authorities in various related fields—Nöldeke, Burkitt, Preuschen—have expressed their opinion in the affirmative. The present writer's feeling inclines in the same direction. This

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Torrey in *ZA*, XXVIII, 2-4 (March, 1914), 312-17. The more important literature on the Carpentras stele is named by Professor Torrey in this article.

<sup>2</sup> First published by W. Wright, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, London, 1871, I, pp. 105 f. and 106-107; English translation, II, 150 ff., 238-45; cf. also Bevan's text of the Hymn of the Soul with translation in Robinson's *Cambridge Texts and Studies*, Vol. V, No. 3. The best edition of the texts is that published with German translation by G. Hoffmann, in *ZNTW*, IV, 4 (1903), 273-309. See also Baumstark, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

is not the place to argue the question in detail. The pitiful shreds which the parsimonious hand of Ephrem has preserved for us (five fragments constituting in all ten lines of five syllables, one of eight, and two of six each, is the sum total)<sup>1</sup> are all that we can be absolutely sure of. A six-syllable line, quoted by Philoxenus (see Appendix I, 1), is certainly Bardaisan's property, probably a poetic verse. Though much too little to give us any adequate idea of Bardaisan's style or thought, and though culled and presented with all the fairness and honesty of a modern war censor or hostile headquarters, they are yet sufficient together with the comment of Ephrem and Rabbula to give the impression of poetic powers distinctly greater than Ephrem's. Clearly and flagrantly, now wilfully, more often stupidly, Ephrem misunderstood Bardaisan, and a better basis for just such misunderstanding could hardly be furnished than just such songs as those in the Acts of Thomas. Moreover, Bardaisan's fame as a poet rests upon fairly good evidence (cf. Appendix I, 2). It seems hardly in accord with the principle of the economy of documents, since we are restricted to supposition, to assume another unknown author for the "gnostic" hymns of the Acts of Thomas.

In any case Bardaisan's is the earliest name of any Syriac poet preserved to us, and, aside from the few lines positively known to be his, the hymns of the Acts of Thomas are the earliest extant Syriac verse. And these two constitute about all the pre-Ephraimite Syriac verse in our possession, upon which, manifestly, no very extensive treatise on Syriac versification may be based.<sup>2</sup> Those who follow Ephrem within the classical period of Syriac poetry, i.e., before the dominance of Arabic and Islam, or, from an inner-Syriac

<sup>1</sup> The 55th *Hymn against Heresies* of Ephrem, which contains all of Ephrem's direct quotations from Bardaisan's verse, in English translation preserving the form of the original, will be found in Appendix I, 1. The Philoxenus fragment is printed there also.

<sup>2</sup> The syllabic construction of the Bardaisanite fragments is clearly set forth in Appendix I; all that may safely be said will be found there. The hymns of the Acts of Thomas exhibit six-syllable verse throughout, gathered into distichs by a Hebraic *parallelismus membrorum* for the most part unmistakably clear; larger strophic structure has not been successfully demonstrated. With the elimination of the Sozomenus tradition it becomes increasingly clear that with our present resources nothing can be known except by inference concerning pre-Ephraimite strophic structures. Lest the unwary think them forgotten, it is distinctly stated here that the Odes of Solomon have been deliberately omitted from this review; though it may still be possible to doubt that they are translations, no doubt is possible to the knowing that they follow no known methods of versification, Syriac or otherwise. Sooner or later they will be claimed to represent a stage preceding Bardaisan's introduction of vowel-counting verse and regular strophes.

point of view, before Anthony of Tagrit, tread no great distance beside Ephrem's footsteps. Even the most renowned of them, Balai, Cyrillona, Isaac of Amid, Isaac of Antioch, Narses, James of Sarug, acknowledge Ephrem as their master and do not appreciably remove from the well-trodden paths by him approved as good and safe. And if a late<sup>1</sup> "tradition" connects the name of Balai with a five-, that of Narses with a six-, that of James of Sarug with a twelve-syllable meter, as that of seven syllables is named after Ephrem, then on the one hand this tradition is not in every case corroborated by known facts, on the other it means no more than that such a meter was the favorite of such an author, in which he excelled, not by him invented. It is Ephrem, therefore, who must furnish the basis and by far the greatest amount of material for any investigation of the laws of classical Syriac verse.

But it must be a corrected, carefully edited text of Ephrem. The insufficiency of the *editio princeps* in this respect is notorious. Overbeck in his *Ephraemi Syri aliorumque Opera Selecta*, Oxford, 1865, published for the most part simply the text of his manuscript, mistakes and all, and that not always faultlessly; he gives no hint, e.g., of the manifest superfluity of ܡܚܕܐ, end of line 12, p. 3, i.e., the very first page of text printed by him. Lamy, too, leaves something to be desired.<sup>2</sup> The best work in this direction yet done is that of Bickell in his *Carmina Nisibena*. Grimme's statement, *ZDMG*, XLVII (1893), 278, that scarcely a single Syriac poem, though it be of the simplest form, exhibits the regular number of syllables in all its verses, may not in its entirety be ascribed to exaggeration; it is in no small part due to bad texts. A text which constantly necessitates conjectural emendation by the reader will not do; one of the next necessary steps in the investigation of Syriac verse is the production of a reliable text of Ephrem, such as the Vatican contemplates in its new edition (see above).

What has just been said, not only expresses one of the needs of modern scholarship in this field, but it also uncovers one of the sources of error, one of the reasons for the insufficiency of the work hitherto done by moderns in the investigation of Syriac poetry and

<sup>1</sup> It can be traced to Antonius Rhetor, at least.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Nöldeke, *GGA* (1882), 1505-14; (1887), 81-7; *WZKM*, IV, 245-51; XVII, 196-203.

poetics. It is, however, by no means the only point at which this work needs correction and completion in fundamentals as well as in ultimate detail, as a brief review will speedily show.

The foundations of all knowledge on the subject were laid in Europe by the writings and teachings of Maronites. George Amira, a Maronite teacher of Syriac grammar in Rome, was the first to publish in Europe a crude and insufficient statement of the elements of Syriac poetics, as a sort of an appendix to his Syriac grammar (Rome, 1596). He was rediscovered by Lamy, *Ephraem Syri Hymni et Sermones*, t. IV, coll. 496 ff., upon whom this statement is based, as Amira's grammar is found neither in the Harvard nor in the Chicago libraries, nor, indeed, so far as I know, in America. Amira taught, briefly, that Syriac verse is not quantitative; that Syriac liturgical books contain many different kinds of verses (he calls them *carmina*), the heptasyllabic being named after Ephrem, that of twelve syllables, subdivided into three groups (significantly called *pausae*) of fours, after James of Sarug; that he considered most elegant distichs of six *pausae*, ornamented with various species of artificial rhyme; and that certain synizeses and diaereses were permissible to bring about the requisite number of syllables. The fragment of Petrus Metoscita's Syriac grammar, published by Martin from the Vatican manuscript, No. 435, p. 168, in *Métrique chez les Syriens*, p. 18, n. 1, is not very clear, being separated from its context. Its meaning can hardly be other than: There are two kinds of verse, that which *counts* vowels or syllables, as do we, the Syrians, and that which measures their length or brevity. Assemani, quoted *ibidem* from the Vatican manuscript, No. 389, adds the distinction between simple and composite meter, and names of the former, in addition to those mentioned by Amira, that of Mar Balai. From Petrus Mubarrak (Benedictus) we learn (*Ephr. Syr., Opp. Syr.-Lat.*, t. II, Praef. ad lectorem, p. xxvi) that this Balaeian measure was the pentasyllabic. He adds further the information that Syriac tunes, named by *hirmi* or model strophes, are often given at the head of hymns (as our "Old Hundredth," and sometimes the count of musically valid syllables, is printed over our hymn tunes), and the misinformation that Hebraic meter is exactly like the Syriac, and that the Greeks possess but eight hymn tunes, whereas the Syrians

have 275. Al. Assemani, *Codex liturgicus Ecclesiae universae*, Rome, 1756, t. IX, Praef. xciv, adds some information on the denotation and use of hymn tunes, which need not be quoted in detail. J. S. Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, I, 61, explains the naming of some meters after poets, makes a faulty distinction between Sermones (*Mīmre*) and Hymni (*Madrāshē*) and calls attention to the acrostics used by Ephrem. To complete our enumeration of modern works on the subject by native Syrians, wholly or partially published, mention must be made of two further authors. The first is Stephanus Petrus Aldoensis, patriarch of the Maronites in the second half of the seventeenth century. His work, referred to by Mubarrak and Hahn, quoted by Al. Assemani, was described in more detail by Pius Zingerle, in *ZDMG*, XVII, 687 ff.; XVIII, 751 ff. As preserved in manuscript in the Vatican (Angelo Mai's catalogue, No. CCCCXLI), it is a full and explicit list of hymn tunes, named after first lines; together with this the first strophe is written out in full, the number of verses and of syllables in each verse (set out in red before each verse) being specially noted. It is not, therefore, a scientific book on verse or versification at all, but rather a book intended for practical use in churches. From it are derived the statements of modern Syrians concerning the many hymn tunes of the Syrians; his own enumeration is probably not wholly original, but goes back through whatever intermediate stages to the fundamental work of Antonius Rhetor of Tagrit. The other author, chronologically the last, who must not be forgotten in this list, is Gabriel Cardahi (*al-Qardāḥi*). Of his three books, *Liber thesauri de arte poetica Syrorum*, Rome, 1875; *Al'Yhkam seu linguae et artis metricae Syrorum institutiones*, Rome, 1880; and *Al-Manahegh seu syntaxis et rhetoricae Syrorum institutiones*, Rome, 1903, the latter has been inaccessible for this review. The other two, in Arabic, present the author's ideas on Syriac poetry and poetics. They are marred by an untrustworthiness, which one is inclined to designate as oriental, though it is by no means limited to the Orient. In *Al'Yhkam*, p. 72, he definitely ascribes (on what authority?) the introduction of rhyme into Syriac poetry to Yuḥannan bar Khaldūn, whom he places in the fifth century A.D.; he lived in the tenth (cf. Duval, *Lit. Syr.*, p. 18, n. 1; "Vie du moine Rabban Youssef Bousnaya," *Revue de l'Orient*

*chrétien*, 1897-98). His distinction of ten kinds of meter, to each of which he assigns a fanciful name in Arabic and Syriac, is valuable only as it exhibits to us a modern native's feeling of what constitutes a verse and its subdivisions in Syriac. He distinguishes, e.g., three kinds of twelve-syllable verse, one divided into three equal groups, one into two, and one without subdivision. His *Thesaurus* offers a valuable collection of Syriac poems, ranging in time from Ephrem to the present; the historical notes are very unreliable throughout.

Starting from such printed and similar oral instruction, European scholars began to study the subject of their own accord. The first of these to make public his lucubrations was August Hahn in his noteworthy book, *Bardésanes Gnosticus Syrorum Primus Hymnologus* (Leipzig, 1819; especially Part I, § 4, pp. 28-51). Some of the erroneous conclusions in historical matters arrived at by Hahn in this brilliant study, as pointed out in Appendix I, were due to the insufficiency of his means and sources rather than to any lack of acumen or honest diligence on his part. He was similarly handicapped in his work on Syriac meter; the faulty text of the *editio princeps*, than which he had no other, led him to the assumption of unnecessary and incorrect synizeses and diaereses. In spite of this, his real contributions to a scientific knowledge of the subject were of no mean order. He was the first to pay any attention to accent, which, it seems, must play a rather important rôle in the rhythm of non-quantitative verse. Reading as he did in the manner of modern Syrians, with a stress-accent prevailingly placed on the penult (on what authority? orally taught? by whom?), the scansion of Syriac verse seemed to him in the main quite self-evident, much easier than Greek. With a word of three syllables frequently closing the verse, an accent on the next to the last syllable of the verse was natural, and he records it as obtaining in other cases as well. He noted the similarity of Syriac to Greek Christian ecclesiastical poetry, being careful not to express too decided an opinion as to priority. The Syriac manner of slurring together the words of a phrase, like the Arabic and the French, did not escape his notice. Besides the five-syllable verse with which he began, he discovered and pointed out hymns in verses of four, six (the Bardaisan distich translated in Appendix I), and seven syllables, and some in mixed meters.



Faulty ascription of the model to Bardaisan did not prevent Hahn from perceiving the strophic form of the hymns *Adv. Scrut.*, 49–65 (eleven five-syllable verses), nor yet from discerning, wherever possible, the refrains: no small feat considering the text he had to work with. In the chrestomathy which he edited together with Siefert in 1825, Hahn further correctly defined the strophe of *Adv. Scrut.*, 67 (five four-syllable verses). If in the attempt to classify and describe the wide and apparently loose Syriac nomenclature for a variety of poetic forms he was not fully successful, this is no crushing demerit; for neither was he wholly unconscious of his shortcomings, nor has a full and exact definition of these terms been attained even at the present day. All in all, the pioneer labors of August Hahn, as compared with the advances made since his day, merit rather more attention and credit than it has been customary to give them.<sup>1</sup> Following Hahn five other German scholars undertook to make such contribution as they might to the work in this field. The first of these, Pius Zingerle, has been mentioned above, in connection with his work on Stephanus Petrus Aldoensis, one of the native writers enumerated in the previous section. In addition to this and other editorial and translation work, Zingerle published an extensive, and, in its day, valuable study of strophic structures (now absorbed by Grimme, and especially by Lamy), the beginning and end of which appeared in Lassen's short-lived *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, VII, 1–25, 185–97, while the middle went with the rest of Lassen's journal into the pages of the *ZDMG*, X, 116–26. Of Fr. Uhlemann it need only be said (with Lamy, *op. cit.*, t. 4, col. 472) that he appended to the second edition of his *Grammatik der syrischen Sprache*, Berlin, 1857, a brief section on versification based wholly on the work of August Hahn. This appears to be the only grammar in print, besides Amira (and Cardahi's *Manahegh*?), which has ventured on this ground.

Gustav Bickell represents on the one side a distinct advance, on the other an aberration. His greatest single contribution made

<sup>1</sup> Praetorius in his little note, *ZDMG*, LIII (1899), 113, is fairer to Hahn than most others. Joh. Christian Wm. Augusti, *De Hymnis Syrorum Sacris*, 1814, quoted by Hahn, *Bardaisanes*, p. 29, does not deprive Hahn of pioneer's honors. Augusti accepted Hahn's corrections in his *Denkwürdigkeiten aus der christl. Archäologie*, V (Leipzig, 1822), 350–77. For the best descriptions and definitions of Syriac poetic forms now obtainable see Baumstark, *op. cit.*, pp. 98–106.

to the subject directly is his edition of Ephrem's *Carmina Nisibena* (Leipzig, 1866). In this book Bickell has edited, better than anything previously published of Ephrem's, 73 songs on various places and themes, the whole collection being named after 21 songs at the head, which treat of Nisibene men and matters. In the introduction sec. VII, *De re metrica*, describes correctly a number of strophic structures with their denotations, expatiates upon the refrains and their Syriac origin, and gives a classified list of diaereses and synaereses (Bickell's term), with criticism and correction of Hahn's errors. Thus far Bickell's work represents a notable advance toward the securing of trustworthy material and a firm foundation for the study of Syriac meters and metrics. From this point onward Bickell walks on uncertain or wholly unsafe ground. It is significant that henceforth his observations on Syriac verse are found in books and articles on Hebrew metrics, a list and description of which is given in W. H. Cobb's *Systems of Hebrew Metre* (Oxford, 1905), pp. 108-28. He believed himself to be following and elaborating a brilliant and original conjecture of Cardinal Pitra (found in the *Hymnographie de l'église grecque*, 1868), but actually he and Pitra were simply accepting at far beyond its real value a piously patriotic supposition made public in Europe by Petrus Benedictus (Mubarrak) in the preface to Vol. II of Ephrem's *Opp. Syro-Lat.* (how far original with him, is hardly worth while investigating), when they assumed a far-reaching identity in the fundamentals of Syriac and Hebrew versification. In a brief summary from one of Bickell's articles in the *ZDMG*, printed in English translation by Cobb (*op. cit.*, p. 113), these fundamentals are enumerated. Of the six listed, the counting of syllables, the disregard of quantity, the coincidence of the verse-lines (*stichoi*) with the divisions of the sense, and the connecting of homogeneous *stichoi* into symmetrical and mutually equivalent strophes are in no sense new; the identity of metrical and grammatical accent was assumed by Hahn without express statement (the term "grammatical" is not very apt; what is meant is modern everyday speech); the *regular* interchange of toned and untuned syllables, producing trochaic measure in verses of an even and iambic in those of an odd number of syllables, is wholly Bickell's own, wholly unfounded, and probably wholly wrong, for Syriac as well as Hebrew.

The greatest improbability of all, as Grimme (*ZDMG*, XLVII, 278) has pointed out, lies in the further assumption that in strophes composed of dissimilar verses all must be read after the manner established by the first verse.

A name, which is scarcely ever, or rather never, mentioned in such a survey as this, is that of K. Schlottmann. The reason for this is twofold. First and foremost, his work is hidden away in the older volumes of the *ZDMG* (XXXII, 187-97 and 767 f.; XXXIII, 252-91, more especially 279-84) under the title "Zur semitischen Epigraphik," with the subtitle in Vol. XXXIII, "Nebst Untersuchungen über die verschiedenen Grundprinzipien der Metrik im Arabischen, Hebräischen und Aramäischen." Secondly, the great, but rather embittered De Lagarde overspread it with scathing criticism, which was meant to annihilate, but which, as is now perfectly clear, in this as in other cases, went beyond De Lagarde's evidence. In spite of this, Schlottmann's work stands forth today as one of the most significant expositions (in the writer's opinion the best to date) of the fundamental principles of Aramaic and in particular of Syriac prosody. Assuming as proved (as well he might) the counting of syllables with disregard of their quantity and extensive use of *parallelismus membrorum*, he makes the observation that under the circumstances, even with the aid of music, the use of the accent was indispensable to the production of a rhythmic movement. Touching briefly upon similar phenomena in Byzantine-Greek and Bactrian poetry, he enters more extensively upon a comparison of Aramaic with French prosody. Neither the French nor the Syriac lays nearly as much stress upon accent as do the Germanic peoples. Both French and Syriac count syllables. Both French and Syriac are largely, if not wholly, limited to quasi-iambic and trochaic rhythms and experience serious, if not insurmountable, difficulties in the creation of anapaests and dactyls. French (and Syriac, also?) does not suffer strict iambic scansion, e.g., "Oui je viens dans son temple," etc., "la fameuse journée," etc.; but rather suggests and sustains a general iambic rhythm by certain heavier accents, regularly recurring at the end of hemistichs, e.g., "Oui je viens dans son temple adorer l'éternel, Je viens selon l'usage antique et

solennel Cé<sup>2</sup>lébrer avec vous la fameuse jour<sup>1</sup>née, O<sup>2</sup>ù sur le mont Sina<sup>1</sup>  
la loi nous fut donn<sup>2</sup>ée." Read in this wise the French Alexandrine exhibits the graceful and vivacious beauty native to it. At this point we find that with similarities French and Syriac also exhibit great dissimilarity in their essential structure. The very reason for the similarities in prosodic phenomena found in the two languages lies in a fundamental dissimilarity. French syllables are evenly light and the accent suspended and hovering, making impossible the thoroughgoing use of other verse measure than the count of syllables. Syriac and Aramaic, with its multitude of greatly or utterly reduced vowels, is brought to the same pass by the evenly massive weight of its syllables, which makes its iambus and trochee a mere spondee with the accent on the first or second syllable. Thus each language must be understood from the peculiarities native to it. Thus far Schlottmann, who is manifestly more than a precursor of Duval and Grimme.

Grimme is the fifth of those German scholars who labored intensively and wrote extensively on the problem of Syriac metrics. His results are summed up in two treatises, the "Grundzüge der syrischen Betonungs-und Verslehre," *ZDMG*, XLVII, 276-307, and *Der Strophenaufbau in den Gedichten Ephraems des Syrers* (*Collectanea Friburgensia*, fasc. II), MDCCCXCIII. As Bickell was at least stimulated by Cardinal Pitra, so Grimme took up and elaborated a suggestion of W. Meyer of Speyer (see above, p. 146). And his contribution to our knowledge of the subject is not unlike that of Bickell. On the one hand he has added greatly. In the discovery of Ephrem's strophic structures he is surpassed only by the consummate master in this field, Lamy. No one has been more acute than he in the discernment of the acrostics that mark out the madrashas of Ephrem. These madrashas he has correctly defined as songs of varied strophic structure with a refrain, intended to be sung by alternating choirs, or by a soloist alternating with a choir, in contradistinction to the mimras, really metrical homilies, much more limited in strophic structure (in Ephrem four or six verses of equal length only), to be spoken by a single performer in a sort of recitative. But these things would be counted by Grimme himself as scarcely

more than chips and by-products of his labors. He no doubt considers his best work and his real contribution to be the attempt to establish once for all the part played by accent in the rhythmization of Syriac verse.

Since his attempt is the most pretentious and his system the most fully elaborated of any yet undertaken, though it is far from being generally accepted, it is only fair that it should be presented with sufficient accuracy and completeness to enable the reader to judge for himself. We shall try to reproduce his ideas as nearly as may be in his own words in translation, since they are in the main beautifully simple and clear. With Hahn and Bickell he assumes for poetry the same accent as for prose and for everyday speech, and for the earliest extant poetry practically the same accent as that which obtains in modern spoken Syriac, namely a strong stress prevailing on the penult, the only difference between the ancient and the modern being the treatment of certain monosyllables as enclitics. The specific rules formulated by Grimme are as follows: (1) All words of two or more syllables (even foreign loan-words are included) are accented on the penult. Initial *yōdh* may constitute a metrical syllable both accented and unaccented; with initial *aleph pethōḥō* and *revōḥō* are mere Shewas, all others full vowels; ܐܝ is usually monosyllabic, ܐܝܢ and ܐܝܢܐ are frequently bisyllabic. (2) An enclitic monosyllable draws the accent of a preceding polysyllabic word to the ultima. Enclitics are: (a) personal pronouns following the verb to emphasize the subject; (b) the pronominal copula; (c) the post-positive auxiliary verb; (d) every monosyllabic verb form at the end of a sentence; (e) every monosyllabic composition of a preposition with suffix or noun, when it follows its governing verb; (f) a monosyllabic second word in any genitive-relation; (g) a monosyllabic word dependent upon a polysyllabic preposition; (h) post-positive particles and monosyllabic vocatives at the end of a sentence. (3) When two enclitics succeed each other, the first is accented, and the penult of a preceding polysyllabic word may be accented as well. (4) Words of four or more syllables may have two accents, one on the penult and one on the syllable preceding the antepenult. (5) When three or more monosyllables succeed each other, exact rules for the accent cannot be given. To these rules, which obtain

in poetry and prose, must be added for poetry alone the possibility of raising initial Shewa-syllables to the status of metrical syllables,<sup>1</sup> not only unaccented, as Bickell had assumed, but accented as well. A bisyllabic anacrusis may cause the suppression of a legitimate accent by rapidity of pronunciation. Having laid down these rules of accent, Grimme proceeds to make the count of accents rather than the count of syllables the law of Syriac meter. From two to four accents (not more) constitute the measure of the Syriac verse. The last syllable is in all cases unaccented. Before and between accents one or two unaccented syllables may be used; in verses of two or three accents three successive unaccented syllables are permitted between accents. Of twenty-five metrical forms distinguished by Grimme he accepts nine as fundamental, the others serving as substitute meters.

The arbitrariness and uncertainty of some of these rules and procedures is patent without further comment. The best criticism of Grimme's unlikely assumption of an abiding accent during a millennium and a half of great changes and shifts in other factors of the Syriac language will be found (without mention of Grimme) in Brockelmann's *Syriac Grammar* and in the same author's various expositions of the comparative grammar of Semitic languages, which supersede the incomplete statements of the Brockelmann-Grimme controversy (*ZDMG*, LII [1898], 401-8; LIII [1899] 102-12 [cf. 113], and 366-67).

Less trenchant at this point, but more thorough in the matter of strophic structures, to which Grimme devoted a third section of his article and the major portion of his book, is the criticism of the Belgian master, Thomas Joseph Lamy. Lamy's greatest contribution to the subject, as has been pointed out before, lay in the exposition of Ephrem's strophes and their denotations. Further direct contributions made by him are: a good edition of a large number of Ephrem's poems and a correct definition of certain technical designations of several poetic forms, notably *sebl'thā* and *bā'ūthā* (less good is his opinion of *sūgithā*; cf. Grimme, *ZDMG*, XLVII, 301). Besides this, Lamy gave a good though not a very deeply penetrating résumé

<sup>1</sup> What this leads to may be seen in Schlottmann's exposition of a faulty reading of French meters. Schlottmann's articles had evidently not been read, at least not carefully, by Grimme, or he would hardly have risked this assumption.

of the work of his predecessors in the field of Syriac metrics. Lamy's work was published in his *Sancti Ephraem Syri Hymni et Sermones*, t. III, pp. i-xxviii, and t. IV, coll. 460-96.<sup>1</sup> Since it would be worse than useless to reiterate Lamy's lists of strophes, it is no reflection upon his work that toward the end of this review we can sum it up in comparatively brief space.

There is still another point at which Grimme's theories are open to criticism. What Grimme assumes to be the only way in which accent may be used to produce rhythm is after all the Germanic way, not the universal way. The term "Germanic" (including English, of course) is used because it is undoubtedly the feeling of this ethnic group, which Grimme shares and from which he proceeds. The use of this term is not meant to deny the well-known fact that other groups, e.g., the Byzantine Greek, the mediaeval Latin, the Italian, proceed upon similar lines in the rhythmical use of accent. But there are differences as well as similarities between these groups. The Italian tongue does not employ the heavy, hammering stresses of English and German; nor does accent appeal to the Italian ear so exclusively as *the* rhythm-producing factor in its poetry. It allows more room for the count of syllables and musical pitch as well.<sup>2</sup> At a still greater remove from Germanic usage and feeling in this matter stands the French, in whose oldest Alexandrines but two regular accents (on the sixth and twelfth) were required in a series of twelve full syllables,<sup>3</sup> the count of syllables seemingly playing the chief rôle in the production of rhythmically measured speech, as native metrists feel to be the case in Syriac. There are other affinities between the French and Syriac languages, the sloughing off of open, final syllables, a strong stress-accent developing into a prevailing ultima-accent of much less vigor (cf. Brockelmann, *Syrische Grammatik*, § 36, p. 21), etc. It was fitting, therefore, that the criticism of Grimme at this point should proceed from the ranks of French

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 147, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. H. F. Tozer in Edward Moore's *Textual Criticism of the "Divina Commedia"* and almost any book or treatise on Italian prosody. For his knowledge on Italian and French versification, though he is not entirely without personal experience in the matter, the author is greatly indebted to Professor C. H. Grandgent of Harvard University.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Becq de Fouquières, *Traité général de versification française*, Paris, 1897; Maurice Grammont, *Le Vers français*, Paris, 1913, et al. If my ear and the mutual understanding of myself and my Chinese friends mistake not, the Chinese feeling and procedure are nearer to the French than to the Germanic.

scholarship. Most modestly and most delicately was this criticism made by Rubens Duval, for many years before his death the dean of French Syriac scholars, in the *Journal asiatique*, 9<sup>e</sup> Série, t. VII (1896), pp. 162-68. According to M. Duval's feeling, Grimme has erred in not distinguishing the prose accent or accent of intensity from the prosodic or tonic accent, and in dividing the Syriac verse into a mere succession of accented and unaccented syllables, instead of rhythmic groups or measures of syllables. M. Duval has written more extensively on Syriac poetics and poetry in the same journal, same series, t. X, pp. 57-73, and in his *Littérature syriaque*, 3d ed., pp. 10-23. His further contributions to the science in these publications, and in his latest article on the subject, "Notice sur la rhétorique d'Antoine de Tagrit," in *Orientalische Studien Theodor Nöldeke gewidmet*, I, 479-86, will be presented more extensively a little farther on.

With no attempt to set forth a system of his own, the latest writer on the subject, Dom J. Jeannin, criticizes as insufficient the system of Grimme, both in itself and as complemented by Duval. Jeannin's contribution consists, as did that of Dom Parisot, in his *Collection de chants orientales*, Paris, 1899, and in various other works, before him, of a series of excellent and extensive treatises dealing with the church music of the Syriac-speaking churches, especially the Maronites. Jeannin's work appeared under the general title, "Le Chant liturgique syrien" in the *Journal asiatique*, 10<sup>e</sup> Série, t. XX (1912), pp. 295-363 and 389-448; and 11<sup>e</sup> Série, t. II (1913), pp. 65-137, including in its last part a section on "Rythme musical et rythme poétique" (pp. 74-111), which contains among other things the critique of Grimme and Duval mentioned above. Interesting in this connection is the statement based on observation of Maronite practice in the liturgical chant, that "quant aux accents, c'est bien sur les syllabes qu'indique le système Grimme qu'ils sont en réalité placés," for which one would much desire to see tabulated lists. In any case, that he had hit upon some of the rules of modern Syriac practice was known in some measure to Grimme himself and was only natural with the views on Syriac accent held by him.

As for the rules governing the production and recitation of classical Syriac poetry, the criticism of Jeannin remains true, any



that have yet been formulated are insufficient and uncertain. Nor can they be otherwise, unless and until the proper foundations are laid. What these foundations are has in part been indicated and in part, at least, indirectly suggested. One of the prime requisites are texts, especially of Ephrem Syrus, that should be as reliable as they can be made.

Another is a broader knowledge of what actually does and what may produce the feeling of rhythm in the writing, reciting, chanting, or singing of poetry, ancient and modern, and greater ability and training in the art of perceiving these rhythmical elements than has yet been brought to bear on Syriac or any oriental poetry (cf. Schlottmann, *op. cit.*). To Grimme, by his own confession, a certain manner of reading poetry sounds like the ticking of a telegraphic instrument. To the French ear, unless many of us be misinformed, the Germanic manner of conceiving and reciting poetry; the Germanic employment of strong stress-accents, is anything but pleasing, a fact which in part accounts for the exceptions Duval takes to Grimme's reading of Syriac poetry. He whose ear cannot perceive without displeasure, at least, these two kinds of poetic rhythm, the French and Germanic, which stand very nearly at opposite poles to each other, should hardly hold himself able to pass judgment on what may or may not have seemed rhythmical in a "dead" language or a past and gone phase of a language. This art of hearing must for our purpose be supplemented by the best attainable knowledge as to what actually does and what may produce the feeling of rhythm, especially in the writing, reading, recitation, and singing of poetry.

For such information the student will probably first turn to the professional metricians, from Aristoxenos to Riemann, Sievers, and Sidney Lanier, etc. From these he who is critically inclined and trained will take leave with the impression that, though great and delicate powers of observation and statement have been expended upon many of their pages, yet they exhibit not infrequently a lack of breadth or depth, certainly for the most part in more or less measure a lack of scientific control of their experiences and observations, and in consequence leave with the reader a feeling of insecurity and uncertainty as to the universal validity and applicability of the laws and rules formulated by them.

Rhythmic feeling being a psychological phenomenon, it is to experimental psychology that we must look for such scientific control of our "facts."<sup>1</sup> Without presuming to pose as an expert in this intricate field, or even as a second-hand connoisseur of the literature on this particular subject, the writer, upon the basis of a rapid review of what seemed to him the most important articles and essays, would set down here a few of his impressions in order to call more general attention to the importance of this side of his subject, until those who are competent shall speak with authority.<sup>2</sup> First may be registered a general impression, which would be less needed if it were more heeded: the psychological study of the subject up to date has made reserve of judgment and restriction of statement more imperative than ever. The work of the psychological experts is so far from offering a complete solution of the more complicated rhythmic structures that what seems to be the best and most advanced examination of the simplest rhythmic phenomena, that by Kurt Koffka (*op. cit.*), distinctly disclaims finality. Though some work has been done, notably by Americans and Canadians, on poetic rhythms, this has not gone far; in fact, it has for the most part most properly been confined to particular details, because precisely the rhythms

<sup>1</sup> My attention was called to the psychological side of the rhythmic experience and to the psychological literature on the subject by Professor Karl Schmidt, head of the Department of Philosophy, Tufts College, Medford, Massachusetts.

<sup>2</sup> In order to leave no one under any misapprehensions as to the limitations of the writer, and in order to facilitate the approach of younger students, a list of books and articles more or less resorted to by the writer is here given: (1) General works on psychology: *Grundzüge der Psychologie*, von H. Ebbinghaus, 3. Aufl. von E. Dürr, 1911, pp. 522-24; W. Wundt, *Physiologische Psychologie*, 6. Aufl., 1911, pp. 141-57 and *passim* (cf. *Sachregister*). (2) Special articles and treatises: Ernst Meumann, "Untersuchungen zur Psychologie und Ästhetik des Rhythmus" in *Philosophische Studien*, Bd. 10 (1894), Heft 2, pp. 249-322, and Heft 3, pp. 393-430; Thaddæus L. Bolton, "Rhythm" in *American Journal of Psychology*, VI; Shaw and Wrinch, "A Contribution to the Psychology of Time," *University of Toronto Studies*, Psychological Series, No. 2; Hurst and McKay, "Experiments on the Time Relations of Poetical Metres," *ibid.*, No. 3; Scripture, *Studies from the Yale Psychological Laboratory*, VII; Margaret K. Smith, "Rhythmus und Arbeit," *Phil. Stud.*, Bd. 16; Eberhardt, "Zwei Beiträge zur Psychologie des Rhythmus und des Tempo," *Zeitschr. für Psych.*, XVIII; Triplett and Sanford, "Studies of Rhythm and Metre," *Amer. Jour. of Psych.*, XII, 361-87; C. R. Squire, "A Genetic Study of Rhythm," *ibid.*, pp. 492-589; Robert MacDougall, "Structure of Simple Rhythm Forms," in Münsterberg's *Harvard Psychol. Studies*, I (1903), 309-411; R. H. Stetson, "Rhythm and Rhyme," *ibid.*, pp. 413-66; Kurt Koffka, *Experimentelle Untersuchungen zur Lehre vom Rhythmus*, Leipzig, 1908, more complete in *Zeitschr. f. Psych.* LII (1909), 1-109; Karl Marbe, *Über den Rhythmus der Prosa*, Giessen, 1904; H. Unser, *Über den Rhythmus der deutschen Prosa*, Freiburger Dissertation, Heidelberg, 1906; Abram Lipsey, "Rhythm as a Distinguishing Characteristic of Prose Style" in *Archives of Psychology*, New York, 1907; Paul Kullmann, *Zeitschr. f. Psych.*, LIV (1909), 290 ff.; M. Beer, *ibid.*, LVI (1910), 264 ff.; A. Prandtl, *ibid.*, LX (1911), 26 ff.

of poetry are one of the most complex phenomena in the whole field of rhythms. What has been done is sufficient to give pause to theorists on the "only" correct method of reading ancient Syriac verse, though an occasional summing up of our knowledge on this as on other subjects and even a bold, intuitive forward thrust may not be wholly out of place.

Even though we assume what is anything but generally admitted, that the part played by accent is exactly alike in old Syriac and in modern Germanic poetry, the case is not so simple as might appear. The fact that a certain method of reading sounds well to certain modern ears is no guaranty that it correctly represents the intention of the author or the practice of early readers. If, for example, Grimme's readings are not unlike modern Syriac, it is a well-known fact that Bickell's declamation of Hebrew and Syriac verse enthralled his hearers by its smoothness and beauty. Very instructive is an example, adduced by Triplett and Sanford (*op. cit.*), of a well-known nursery rhyme, which may with equally pleasing effect be read in three different ways:

$\begin{array}{c} \frac{1}{\text{Sing}} \frac{2}{\text{a}} \frac{3}{\text{song}} \text{o'} \frac{4}{\text{six}} \frac{5}{\text{pence}} \text{ (or } \frac{2}{\text{six}} \frac{4}{\text{pence}} \text{),} \\ \frac{1}{\text{A}} \frac{2}{\text{pocket}} \frac{3}{\text{full}} \text{o'} \frac{4}{\text{rye}}; \end{array}$   
*or*  
 $\begin{array}{c} \frac{1}{\text{Sing}} \frac{2}{\text{a}} \frac{3}{\text{song}} \text{o'} \frac{4}{\text{six}} \frac{5}{\text{pence}}, \\ \frac{1}{\text{A}} \frac{2}{\text{pocket}} \frac{3}{\text{full}} \text{o'} \frac{4}{\text{rye}}; \text{ etc.} \end{array}$

But the similarity of old Syriac to modern Germanic is not at all certain—quite the opposite, in fact. Before we can be certain of anything in the reading of classical Syriac poetry, much special investigation is still needed. Even in the most attractive and promising field of modern, living tongues and peoples, whether it be the task of the psychologist or of the psychologically trained student of modern philology, the work, especially comparative work, has been very much restricted for lack of interested workers. Some Japanese, Slavs, and Latins have, indeed, taken part in a few of the Wundtian experiments,<sup>1</sup> but by far the greater part of the people subjected to psychological observation and experiment have been

<sup>1</sup> Wundt, *op. cit.*, III, 90, n. 1.

of Germanic stock and rearing. And aside from the fact that some of Wundt's observations have been partially vitiated by preconceived theories (cf. e. g., Squire, *op. cit.*), his as well as other investigations have thus far been too restricted, not only in number and types of people studied, but also in range of inquiry, to admit of any generalizing conclusions of validity and value on the varied and composite rhythms of poetry.

The part played by elements other than accent in creating the impression of rhythm is far from clear for both Latin and Germanic languages. In the older Romance and Germanic poems, just as in those of the Syriac poets, the end of the verse, sometimes that of a half-verse, coincides with logical sense-divisions. How did this help the sense of rhythm? Was it in turn supposed to help bring about regularly recurring variations in pitch, which would assist materially in marking larger or smaller rhythmic groups? Since by the unanimous statements of all the native metricians the counting of syllables played so large a rôle in the writing of Syriac verse, is it possible that in poetry produced in the meticulously artificial studies of an Ephrem, an Antonius Rhetor, an Ebedjesu, a Severus bar Shakko, the visual sense was meant to take part in creating a sense of symmetry and rhythm? For all such questions the preliminary, general psychological investigations have not yet been completed. And that is but natural, for professional psychologists cannot be expected to turn to what for them is a remote and obscure corner before clearing their own general field. In order that this particular work may be more expeditiously concluded, a larger proportion of Semitists must turn their attention to experimental psychology than has been the case hitherto.

But before the problem of Syriac meters may be attacked directly with a propitious outlook for a successful solution, there remains no small amount of preliminary work to be done in Syriac, in the fields of linguistry, literature, and history. Not only tools and workers are lacking, but materials to work upon. And these materials must consist of more than rectified texts of the poets.

Grimme and those who have given him more or less qualified assent base their conclusions upon a pure and simple assumption with regard to the word-accent of classical Syriac prose. This

assumption rests upon no secure basis of known facts. Before plunging farther, therefore, it behooves us to seek for such facts. Up to the present this has been done energetically and effectively by few Semitic scholars, notably Praetorius, Philippi, and Carl Brockelmann. Brockelmann's work, which sums up the results of his predecessors, has been severely censured and even light-heartedly rejected in some quarters. But whether his results be finally accepted or no, nevertheless it remains that he has vigorously attacked this knotty problem and brought to bear upon it all the resources of a great intellect and an excellent equipment. Instead of carping censure, this pioneer work deserves help, be it by fair and helpful criticism or be it by supplementary investigation.

As a matter of history the relation of Syriac hymn-writing to music demands attention. Parisot, Jeannin, and a few others have applied themselves to the task with excellent results. The ultimate goal has hardly been attained. Yet the task is an important one, if we wish to solve the problem of Syriac rhythmization. If certain methods of reading Syriac poetry sound to some of us like the clicking of a telegraph, perhaps it was never meant to be read. And if it was written to be sung, then it must be remembered that musical accent may be very different from that of the spoken word; the two may complement each other, they may have little or nothing to do with each other.<sup>1</sup> Especially hymns written to fit existing tunes, even in modern times, are frequently by no means faultless in this respect. Now the *hirmi* which served the Syriac hymn-writers as models for their strophes were probably in many cases not mere skeleton frames of syllables and accents, but actual tunes.<sup>2</sup> If, therefore, Ephrem wrote his *madrashas* upon such *hirmi*, as we positively know him to have done in many cases, and if, as we have good reason to believe, he laid chief stress upon their being sung, and if, further, he wrote his *mimras* for recitative declamation (the times of the Gracchi saw flute-players accompanying or at least giving the pitch to orators at Rome) rather than for simple reading, is it not at

<sup>1</sup> Cf. R. H. Stetson, *op. cit.*; Jeannin, *op. cit.*; Frances Densmore, "Chippewa Music," *Bulletins of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Nos. 45 (1910) and 53 (1913), and almost any collection of old songs, hymns, ballads, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Severus bar Shakko in Martin, *Métrique*, p. 33, ll. 15 ff.; the translation, p. 43, is not exact.

least possible that he had regard in his composition to the number of syllables only and to accent much less or not at all?

Finally, if we wish to attain any reasonable certainty in regard to many of these questions, we must not, as has frequently been done, utterly ignore the older Syriac literature on the subjects of versification and rhetoric. We may distrust the modern, native writers named in the earlier pages of this introductory essay, as having come too much under the influence of modern Europe. The suspicion is not wholly justified. All of them (Cardahi, perhaps, least, being under Arabic influence) exhibit information which through some channel, in whatever dilution and distortion, has come to them from the older masters of their people. The dean of these older masters, the man who claims to be the first to have written an extended and systematic treatise on Syriac versification, Antonius Rhetor of Tagrit, acknowledges himself indebted to the Greeks both for the impulse to write and for his models.<sup>1</sup> But this indebtedness does not constitute undue influence; in this manner every writer is indebted to his predecessors. Antonius learned from the Greeks, he did not merely translate and copy them, as, indeed, he could not, his material differing too widely from theirs. To walk your own dogmatic way in determining what may or may not have been the essence of Syriac meters, neglecting totally what men like Antonius and his successors wrote on the subject, will not do. These men after all register for us in a most compact and comprehensive way the native thought and feeling as to what constitutes poetry, and as to what is demanded and what is permitted in Syriac versification, both in the rules and opinions which they advocate, and in those which they oppose. Antonius, moreover, registers and describes differences between the poetry of his own time, the ninth century, and that of the period which we have called the classical. Such statements and treatises must be more extensively published and more intensively studied than has been done hitherto, if we would make progress in our knowledge of Syriac meters.

<sup>1</sup> It is not improbable that among the factors which moved Antonius to write his treatise was the desire to become the al-Ḥalīl of his people. He does not say so; perhaps he studiously avoids giving any such impression. But the dates are significant. Antonius flourished ca. 825-50 A.D.; al-Ḥalīl died 791; Sībawaihi, 793 or 796; al-Aḥḡāṣ al-Ausāṭ, 830 or 835. It is well to recall that Severus bar Shakkō, also, had studied with the Arabic master, Kamāl ad-dīn b. Jūnus.



probability lies elsewhere. A word of the same root is used in Severus bar Shakko (ed. Martin, p. 55, n. 1, l. 3) to designate the count of syllables; in another place (p. 67, l. 10) another form is used with reference to the proper length and balance of clauses. Why then should not measures in Ephrem's statement refer to the measured count of syllables within each verse, and scales or balances (not weights) to the arrangement of the verses in parallel distichs, so frequent in Ephrem, and so clear in the hymns of the Acts of Thomas?

A much more extended and pretentious publication is that of a large part of the section on metrics from the *Dialogues* of Severus bar Shakko (ecclesiastical name Jacob, of Barṭela—not of Tagrit, bishop of Mar Mattai) by M. l'abbé Martin in *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, VII, No. 2 (Leipzig, 1879). This is of considerable importance, both in itself, as Severus is neither stupid nor poorly educated, and because it makes use, at times verbatim or nearly so, of the similar treatise by Severus' predecessor, Antonius of Tagrit, a fact which Duval was first to observe. Appendix II of this essay gives a description of a Harvard manuscript, which contains a portion of these *Dialogues*, and a collation of the Harvard text with Martin's, together with a few corrections of Martin's translation.

There remains to be mentioned only one further publication and the promise of a publication by Duval. In *Orientalische Studien Theodor Nöldeke gewidmet*, I, 479–86, Duval announced that after an unsuccessful attempt to prepare for publication the insufficient fragments contained in British Museum MS Add. 17208 (described in Wright's Catalogue, p. 614), he had succeeded in securing a good copy, written in 1904 by Elias, son of Deacon Homo, deceased, of Alqosh, of a Mosul manuscript of the Rhetoric of Antonius Rhetor of Tagrit, which was fragmentary only in the last section, where it was spoiled by moisture and gnawed by mice. He published in the same essay the title of the whole volume and the chapter and book headings, both in Syriac and in translation, and a few sentences of one or more colophons in translation only. At the end he refers to M. Manna's *Morceaux choisis de la littérature araméenne*, Mossoul, Imprimerie des Pères Dominicains, 1902, in the second part of which (pp. 95 ff.) a few extracts from the Mosul manuscript are



published; a copy of this work, which was secured by the University of Chicago Libraries, while this essay was in print, shows that none of the extracts printed by Manna are from the fifth book here published. In his *Littérature syriaque* (3d ed., 1907, p. 300, n. 2), Duval promised a speedy publication of the entire text of the Rhetoric in Chabot's *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*. The promise lapsed, so far as he personally was concerned, with the death of the revered master on May 10, 1911. Nor has anyone else up to the present writing fulfilled it in his stead. In the meantime the writer found in the Semitic Museum Library of Harvard University, among the Syriac and Karshuni manuscripts purchased for the library by Professor David Gordon Lyon from J. Rendel Harris, a similar manuscript of Anthony's Rhetoric. The description and the collation with Duval's published text-fragments which follow will show that this manuscript is not inferior to that of Duval. The writer is happy to be able in the following pages to contribute his iota of help to M. Duval's literary heir or heirs. It is in no wise the intention of the writer to steal a march on M. Chabot or anyone else who has undertaken the work in the stead of M. Duval. These times of all times would be the least fitting for such a coup. "High" politics and wars and opinions of wars and warring parties need not and should not interfere with such calm and peaceful onward march of science as is possible under the circumstances, nor with international intercourse and the courtesies which govern the relations between men following scientific pursuits in times of peace. What follows is a description of the Harvard manuscript with a translation of the colophons, a collation of the general title and the headings with those published by Duval, and the text of the fifth book of the Rhetoric, which is avowedly a treatise on versification. Against the description and collation no objection can be made on any score. The text is published purely as manuscript text, not as an edited text. The publication is made primarily to enable the French editors to use this manuscript for their edition. The writer believes that this is a legitimate function of scientific journals, which might well be made use of more freely. And until the final text be published, this may serve as a makeshift text for such as need or desire this.

If the writer has criticized French work, neither has he spared German where he found it in error; and he hopes that he has given to all alike due appreciation. Finally the writer's own work is herewith laid open to any criticism which its fault or faults may merit, so that only the cause of science, which is dear to his heart, be advanced thereby.

DESCRIPTION OF THE HARVARD MANUSCRIPT OF ANTHONY OF TAGRIT'S  
RHETORIC

The Harvard manuscript, Semitic Museum No. 4057 (formerly Cod. Syr. 122 of J. Rendel Harris' collection), is a paper manuscript, containing 113 leaves, 23.8×16.5 cm., in 12 gatherings of 5 double leaves, except the first, which consists of 2, and the last, which consists of 4½ (5+4). From the second to the twelfth the gatherings are numbered in Estrangelo letters, ܐ-ܠ, at the beginning and end of each, the first at the end only, and the last at the beginning only; ܐ-ܠ bear in addition the Arabic numerals, ٩, ١٠, and ١١; the second ܐ and the first ܐ are drawn in outline only, not filled in. Two folio-numberings run through the book, one in the upper left-hand corner of every recto, 1-113, is penciled in occidental numbers in J. Rendel Harris' hand; the other in the lower left-hand corner of rectos from fol. 6 to 107 bears the Syriac letters from ܐ to ܡ, supplemented twice only (ܐ, ٩٩ and ܠ, ١٠١) by Arabic numerals. Catchwords insure the proper sequence from verso to recto, that of fol. 91b being omitted at the beginning of 92a (cf. the printed text). Rulings on versos mark lines (24 on each page) and margins; on fol. 6a all margins are bounded by an inked frame; fol. 5b, the initial page of the book, bearing the title also, is elaborately ruled in little squares. An ornamental design is blocked out in black ink on this page, but only partially filled in in colors (red and light brown), depicting a sort of hanging, arched, oriental gateway for the book to enter. The paper, of a kind much in use in the modern Orient, is stamped with a watermark, consisting on some pages of a shield-shaped escutcheon with double outline bearing in the center a crescent with fanciful human face, on others of the Italian legend *Cartiera de Mori* and under this *Vittorio*.

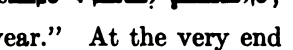
The book is bound in light-green cloth with back and corners of dark-green sheepskin. Heavy guards and fly-leaves have been

supplied by the binders, who have set their mark, "Bound by Wilson & Son, Cambridge," on the inside of the left guard. The title is printed in gold on the back between the second and third of eight pairs of lines: *Antoninus* (sic!) *Rhetor of Taghrith*. On the inside of the right-hand cover is pasted J. Rendel Harris' bookmark.

The first four leaves were left blank and unpumiced, though ruled by the original scribe. At the top of fol. 1a, however, the legend *Cod. Syr. 122* and thereunder *Antonius Rhetor of Taghrith on Rhetoric* is written in J. Rendel Harris' hand, and under this *Semitic Museum No. 4057* in the handwriting of Professor D. G. Lyon. Fol. 5a contains the table of contents and a colophon, translated below. On foll. 5b to 107a is written as much of the Rhetoric of Anthony of Tagrit as is known to be preserved: Book 1 on foll. 5a-55b; Book 2, 55b-65b; Book 3, 65b-72a; Book 4, 72a-87b; Book 5, 88a-107a; 107b-113b are ruled and pumiced but left blank. Large lacunae occur on fol. 61b in the midst of Book 2, 19 lines, *ܠܗܘܐ ܕܡܢ ܫܝܥܪܐ ܕܟܬܒܐ ܕܚܝܬܐ ܕܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܚܝܬܐ ܕܩܕܝܫܐ*; fol. 65b/66a at the very beginning of Book 3, *ܐܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܚܝܬܐ ܕܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܚܝܬܐ ܕܩܕܝܫܐ*; fol. 75b/76a, 22 lines, *ܠܗܘܐ ܕܡܢ ܫܝܥܪܐ ܕܟܬܒܐ ܕܚܝܬܐ ܕܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܚܝܬܐ ܕܩܕܝܫܐ*. The lacunae of Book 5 will be found in the printed text. Minor lacunae from one word to a line or more are found here and there in the last four books, increasing in frequency and size toward the close. The incipit will be found in the collation compared with Duval's text; explicit, fol. 107a, l. 21: *ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܚܝܬܐ ܕܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܚܝܬܐ ܕܩܕܝܫܐ*. A marginal note, which closes the book, is translated below.

**The Karshuni colophon on fol. 5a reads as follows:**

Now is this valuable book completed by the kindness of God, exalted is he, the one, the eternal, in the year 1895 A.D., which corresponds to the year 2207 Greek, in Tishri II, by the weak and lowly deacon Matthaëus, son of Bulus, of old Syrian [faith]. And he wrote it in the city of Mosul, the famous, in Assyria, whose capital is Niniveh. And we toiled exceedingly, when we found this book, entitled the Book of Anthony of Tagrit, of which mention is made in the book of the History of Mar Gregory Barhebraeus Abu-'l-Farağ. It was in the days of Mar Dionysius the Tellmahreñsian, in the year 1136 Greek [= 825 A.D.], at that time lived this chaste monk and excellent priest, *"there was the excellent monk and priest, Mar Anthony the*

At the end of the table of contents is given the reference: "The dating of the ancient book from which we made this copy is on fol. 83," and under this, in Arabic letters and numerals, is repeated the date of the present copy: 1895 A.D. On fol. 87 (old count 83)b, ll. 21-25, at the end of Book 4, are found the following notes: (1) in red, l. 21, Karshuni: "This is the dating of the book from which we copied"; (2) in black, small and cramped, beginning of l. 22: "The dating of the ancient book, thus is it"; (3) in black, ll. 22-24, in Syriac: ; (4) in black, l. 35, in Arabic: "1714 Greek year." At the very end of the book is written a marginal note, similar to many others accompanying the lacunae throughout, fol. 107a: "From here until its end the book from which we copied is wanting; for it was an old book." The note is in Syriac.

\* Jebel 'Aloof should be read Jebel 'Alfaf, i.e., Jebel Al-Maqloob; cf. Duval, *Or. Stud. Th. Nöldeke gew.*, I, 486. On the monastery and mountain cf. Georg Hoffmann, "Auszüge aus syr. Akten pers. Märt.", *Abh. f. d. Kunde des Morg.*, VII, 3, p. 19, n. 142; p. 175, n. 1371; p. 194, n. 1533; Felix Jones, "Notes on the Topography of Niniveh" in *Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government*, No. 43 (1857), p. 599; Badger, *The Nestorians and Their Ritual*, I (1852), 95; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, 9 (1872), 2, 694.

The following collation with the portions of Duval's copy published in the *Or. Stud. Th. Nöldeke gew.* will show that the Harvard text is, to say the least, not inferior to Duval's.

Parallels between Antonius Rhetor and Severus bar Shakko, i.e., unacknowledged quotations of Severus bar Shakko from Antonius, occur as follows:<sup>1</sup> A(ntonius) 92a, 11-14=S(everus), 11, 11-13; A 92a, 15-92b, 8=S 11, 15-13, 1 (A 92a, 20, cf. S 11, 9 f.; A 92b, 5, cf. S 13, 1, 2); A 92b, 17-19=S 11, 9-11; A92b, 23, 24=S 13, 4-7; A 93a, 1-18=S 13, 10-14, 6; A 93a, 21=S 13, 5; A 93a, 22=S 13, 7 f.; A 93a, 23 f.=S 14, 8 f.; A 93b, 1-3=S 14, 10-12; A 94a, 24=S 23, n. 2, ll. 6 f.; A 94b, 1=S 23, 3; A 94b 2=S 58, 1; A 94b, 4-7=S 24, n. 7; A 94b, 7=S 58, 2 (cf. n. 1); A 94b, 12=S 25, 1; A 94b, 14-16=S 26, 2-4; A 95a, 1=S 25, 10; A 95a, 14, 15=S 26, 1; 95b, 6+ 95b, 11=S 14, 18; 95b, 12-19=S 14, 19-15, 2 (Antonius' text, as used by Severus, seems to have been already defective); 96a, 23, 24, 96b, 1-4=S 27, n. 3; 96b-99b are in general parallel to S 27-31, but in detail little or no verbal agreement is to be found; 99b, 13/14=S 31, 5, 6; 99b, 17-100a, 4=S 31, 7-32, 15; 100a, 5=S 34, 13 (100a, 5, 6=S 33, 1 f. ?); 100a, 6-23=S 34, 15-35, 14; 101b, 4/5=S 36, 13; 101b, 7-14=S 36, 14-20; 102a, 16=S 37, 1; 102a, 18, 19=S 37, 2; 102a, 22, 23=S 37, 2, 3.

#### COLLATION OF HARVARD MS OF ANTONIUS RHETOR TAGRITENSIS WITH DUVAL'S TEXT

The symbol *H* is used for the Harvard manuscript.

Above the title is written, in red like the title:  $\text{ܡܠܟܐ}$ <sup>+</sup>

In title,  $\text{ܡܠܟܐ}$ : *H*  $\text{ܡܠܟܐ}$ ; *post*  $\text{ܡܠܟܐ}$  *H add.*  $\text{ܡܠܟܐ}$ ; *post*  $\text{ܡܠܟܐ}$  *H add.*  $\text{ܡܠܟܐ}$ ; *post*  $\text{ܡܠܟܐ}$  *H add.*  $\text{ܡܠܟܐ}$ ;  $\text{ܡܠܟܐ}$ : *H*  $\text{ܡܠܟܐ}$ ;  $\text{ܡܠܟܐ}$ : *H*  $\text{ܡܠܟܐ}$ ;  $\text{ܡܠܟܐ}$ : *H*  $\text{ܡܠܟܐ}$ ;  $\text{ܡܠܟܐ}$ : *H*  $\text{ܡܠܟܐ}$ ; *H om.*  $\text{ܡܠܟܐ}$ .

chap. i:  $\text{ܡܠܟܐ}$ : *H*  $\text{ܡܠܟܐ}$ .

chap. ii:  $\text{ܡܠܟܐ}$ : *H*  $\text{ܡܠܟܐ}$  (and so throughout, unless otherwise noted).

chap. iv:  $\text{ܡܠܟܐ}$ : *H*  $\text{ܡܠܟܐ}$ ;  $\text{ܡܠܟܐ}$ : *H*  $\text{ܡܠܟܐ}$ .

chap. v:  $\text{ܡܠܟܐ}$ : *H*  $\text{ܡܠܟܐ}$ .

<sup>1</sup> Severus is quoted by page and line of Martin's edition; Antonius by page and line of the Harvard manuscript.

chap. ix: *post*  $\text{فـ} \text{عـ}$  *H add.*  $\text{نـ}$ .

chap. x:  $\text{نـ} \text{عـ} \text{فـ}$ : *H*  $\text{نـ} \text{عـ} \text{فـ}$ ;  $\text{عـ}$ : *H*  $\text{عـ}$ .

chap. xi:  $\text{نـ} \text{عـ} \text{فـ}$ : *H*  $\text{نـ} \text{عـ} \text{فـ}$ ; *post*  $\text{فـ} \text{عـ} \text{نـ}$  *H add.*  $\text{عـ}$ .

chap. xii: *H*  $\text{نـ} \text{عـ} \text{فـ}$  (as chap. x, and so throughout, unless otherwise noted).

chap. xiii: *H*  $\text{نـ} \text{عـ} \text{فـ}$ ;  $\text{عـ} \text{فـ}$ : *H*  $\text{عـ} \text{فـ}$ .

chap. xiv:  $\text{نـ} \text{عـ} \text{فـ}$ : *H*  $\text{نـ} \text{عـ} \text{فـ}$ ; *H*  $\text{نـ} \text{عـ} \text{فـ}$ .

chap. xv:  $\text{نـ} \text{عـ} \text{فـ}$ : *H*  $\text{نـ} \text{عـ} \text{فـ}$ .

chap. xvi:  $\text{نـ} \text{عـ} \text{فـ}$ : *H*  $\text{نـ} \text{عـ} \text{فـ}$ ;  $\text{عـ} \text{فـ}$ : *H*  $\text{عـ} \text{فـ}$ .

chap. xvii:  $\text{عـ}$  (1): *H*  $\text{عـ}$ ;  $\text{عـ} \text{فـ}$ : *H*  $\text{عـ} \text{فـ}$  (i.e., *donne abondance à, enrichit*, not with Duval *abaisse* [?]).

chap. xviii:  $\text{عـ} \text{فـ}$  with marginal note  $\text{عـ} \text{فـ}$ : *H*  $\text{عـ} \text{فـ}$  with  $\text{عـ} \text{فـ}$ .

chap. xix: *H* has marginal note as for xviii, but in sg.

chap. xxi:  $\text{عـ} \text{فـ}$ : *H*  $\text{عـ} \text{فـ}$ .

chap. xxii: *ante*  $\text{عـ} \text{فـ}$  *H add.*  $\text{عـ} \text{فـ}$ .

chap. xxiii:  $\text{عـ} \text{فـ}$ : *H*  $\text{عـ} \text{فـ}$ ; the list of examples given by Duval under this chapter is not exhaustive; this is misleading, since Duval's list covers but one of five methods of the use of names. Duval's translation is faulty, resting upon his reading of the sg.  $\text{عـ} \text{فـ}$ ; not "qui a lieu par la dénomination tirée des faits," but "which through names proceeds to facts."

chap. xxv:  $\text{عـ} \text{فـ}$ : *H*  $\text{عـ} \text{فـ}$ .

chap. xxvi: *ante*  $\text{عـ} \text{فـ}$  *H add.*  $\text{عـ} \text{فـ}$ ;  $\text{عـ} \text{فـ}$ : *H*  $\text{عـ} \text{فـ}$ ; *H om.*  $\text{عـ} \text{فـ}$  (2).

chap. xxx: *ante*  $\text{عـ} \text{فـ}$  *H add.*  $\text{عـ} \text{فـ}$ ; this will again change Duval's translation for better sense in view of the "double exhortation," which one is led to expect; not "instructive sous forme de récit," but "sous forme de récit et par procédé instructif." This corresponds to the facts in chap. xxx.

Closing formula of Book 1: *post*  $\text{عـ} \text{فـ}$  *H add.*  $\text{عـ} \text{فـ}$ ; *post*  $\text{عـ} \text{فـ}$  *H add.*  $\text{عـ} \text{فـ}$ ; *H om.*  $\text{عـ} \text{فـ}$ .

Title, Book 2: *post*  $\text{عـ} \text{فـ}$  *H add.*  $\text{عـ} \text{فـ}$ ;  $\text{عـ} \text{فـ}$ : *H*  $\text{عـ} \text{فـ}$ ;  $\text{عـ} \text{فـ}$ : *H*  $\text{عـ} \text{فـ}$ .

Title, Book 3:  $\text{عـ} \text{فـ}$ : *H*  $\text{عـ} \text{فـ}$ ;  $\text{عـ} \text{فـ}$ : *H*  $\text{عـ} \text{فـ}$ .



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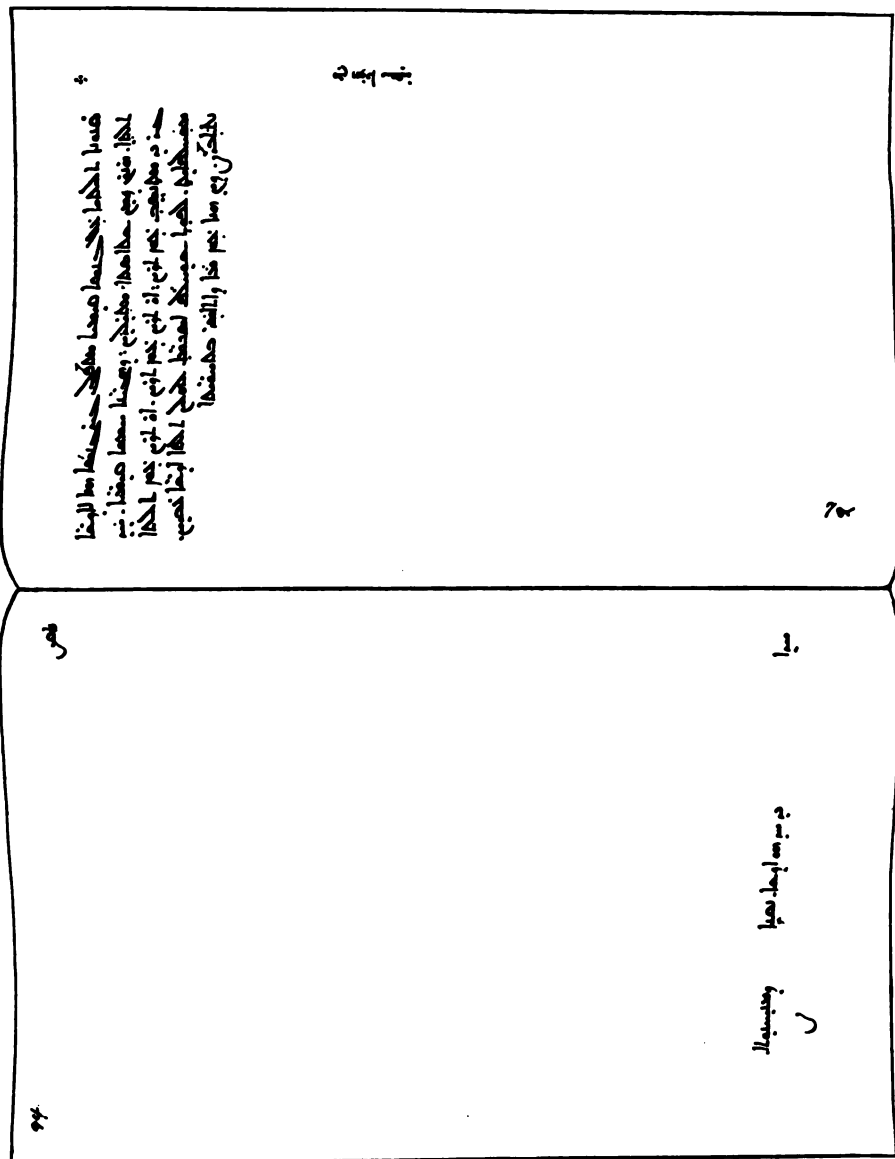
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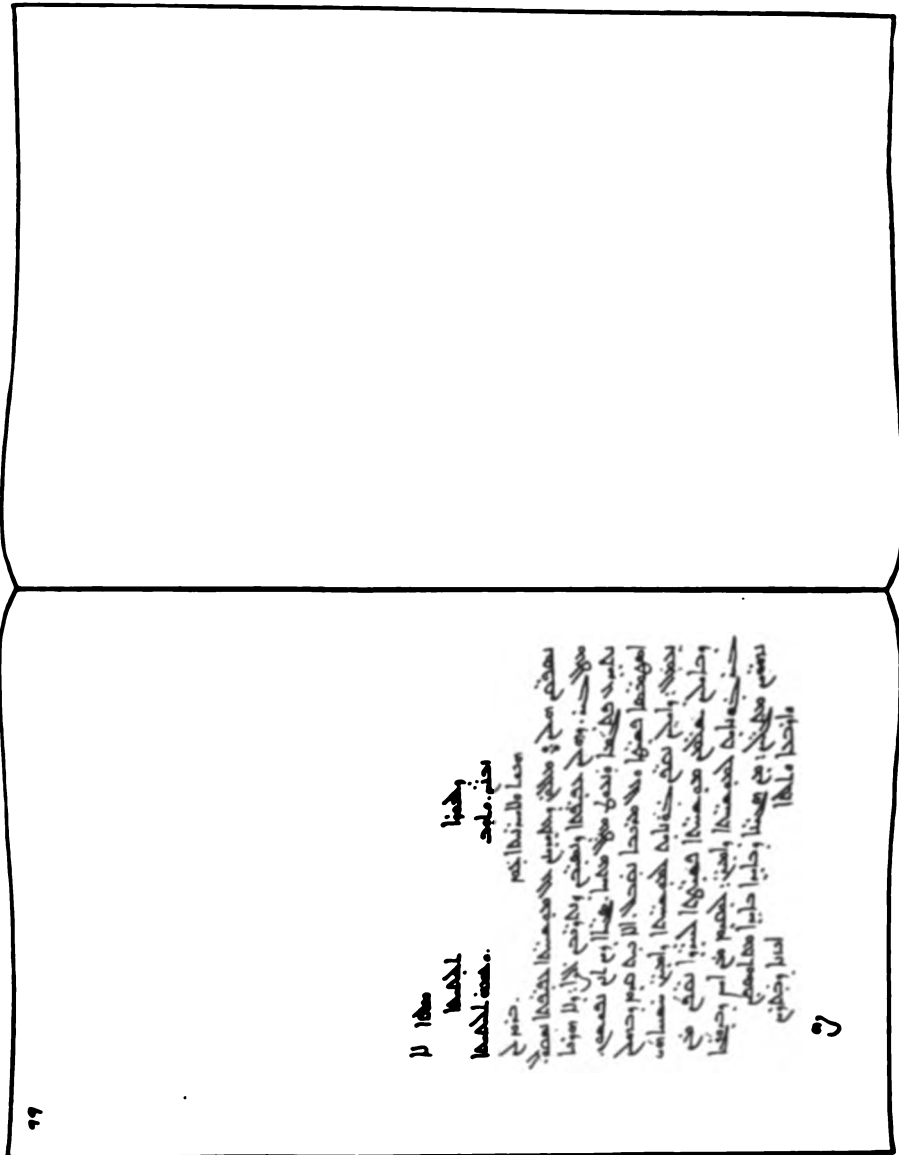


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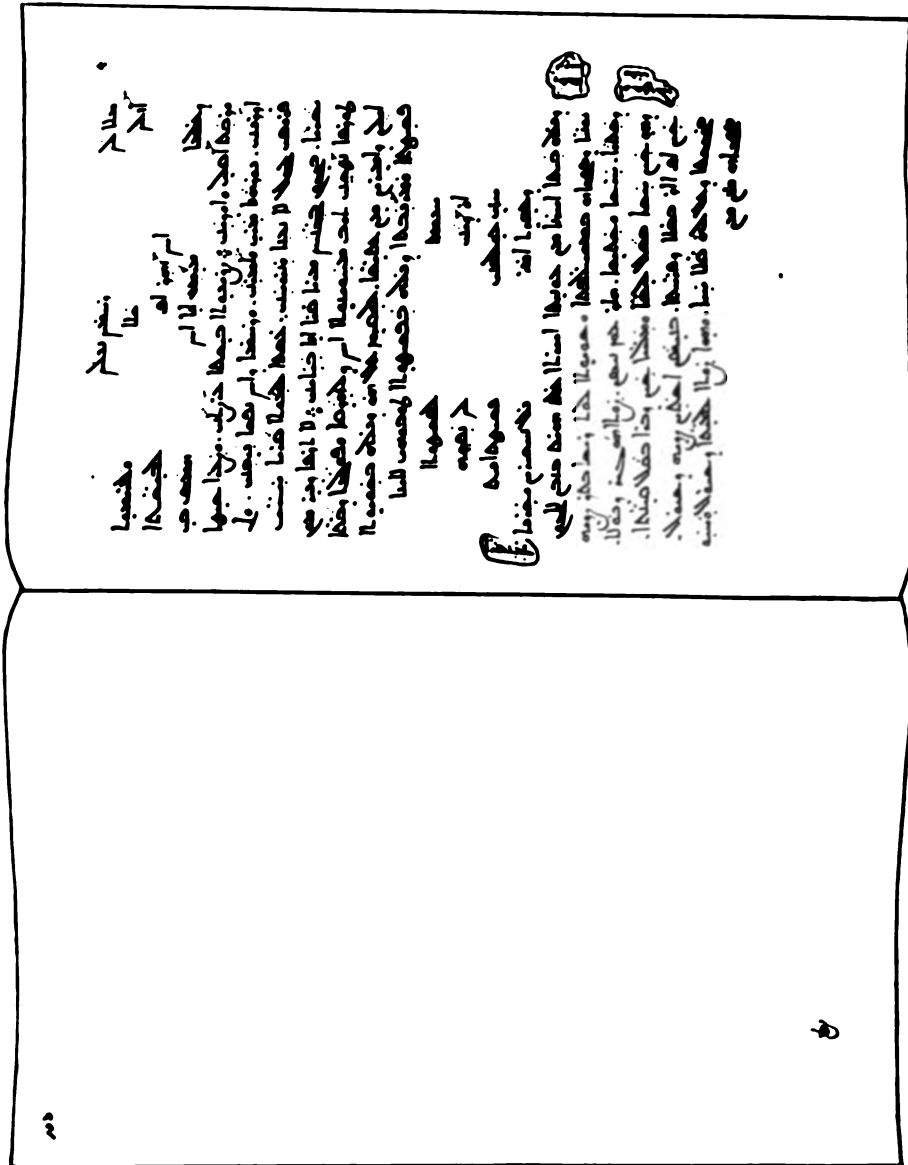




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## APPENDIX I

## I

In order to give English readers, who are not specialists in Syriac, an adequate idea of the poetic fragments of Bardaisan preserved to us and of the manner of their preservation, it has been thought best to append here an English translation of the only one of his extant works in which Ephrem Syrus makes direct quotations from the poems of Bardaisan, the 55th Mad-rasha or Hymn against Heresies (*Opera Omnia, Syr.-Lat.*, t. II, 557 f.). The only other place where what seems to be a line of poetry is quoted from the works of Bardaisan is the fragment of a Philoxenus letter printed by Cureton in the introduction to his *Spicilegium Syriacum*, which will be found both in Syriac and in translation following Ephrem's madrasa in this appendix.

The attempt has been made to preserve in the English the five-syllable verse of the original, maintained throughout except in vss. 29 f. and vs. 61, on which see the footnotes. The exact contents of each line could not, of course, be transferred into English in anything worthy the name of translation. The number of lines, however, both for the whole poem, and for the larger logical sections, such as would be closed by a period, interrogation, or exclamation point, have been scrupulously maintained. The sense-divisions do not at all points bear out Lamy's classification of this hymn (IV, 494, No. 74) under the strophic model of ܡܢܝܢ ܕܡܢܝܢ, i.e., its fellow, *Adv. Haer.* 56,<sup>1</sup> which exhibits a strophe of 11 five-syllable verses. This may be due to a corrupt text, printed in the Roman *editio princeps*, which certainly omitted or, at least, failed to distinguish from the body of the poem the refrain which almost certainly belongs there. We cannot but follow the printed text, numbering the verses consecutively, and marking the logical sense-divisions, which in most cases do fall naturally into eleven-line strophes. The translation follows:

Pray, oh my brethren,  
For Bardaisan's sons,  
That no more they rave,  
Saying, like infants,

5 Something went forth, came  
Down from life's father;  
And a mystic son  
The mother conceived

<sup>1</sup> It was a note concerning this "tune" which was misread by the Roman editor, Father Benedict (*Opera Omnia, Syr.-Lat.* t. III, 128 AB): ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ, which in somewhat halting Hebraic Syriac would mean: "Finished are seventeen hymns according to the tunes of the songs of Bardaisan." The able Hahn (*Bardesanes Gnosticus*, 32 f.) was misled by this reading to find here corrective corroboration of the statement of Sozomenus referred to below (pp. 199 ff.), which makes the songs of that mysterious son of Bardaisan, Harmonius, models for those of Ephrem. Lamy has shown (*op. cit.*, III, *Proleg.*, IV, 475/6, n. 4) that the correct reading merely states that the seventeen hymns, Nos. 49-65, *Adversus Scrutatores*, follow the tune and strophic model of ܡܢܝܢ ܕܡܢܝܢ, "Sect of Bardaisan," the opening words of hymn No. 56, *Adversus Haeresees*.

- And bare, called life's child.  
 10 O holy Jesus,  
     Praise to thy father! (11)  
     He says, in no wise  
     May one alone bud,  
     Be fruitful, and bear.  
 15 Our Lord's own nature  
     He claims born of two  
     By mystic union.  
     Our Lord, whose *body*  
     Of two was not born!  
 20 How spotless must be  
     His divine nature,  
     Which is light from light! (11)  
     Who would not stop his  
     Ears, not to hear them  
 25 Say, the Holy Ghost  
     Brought forth two daughters.  
     Their words make her<sup>1</sup> say  
     To these in deep love:  
     *"Be she that follows thee*  
 30 *My daughter, thy sister."*<sup>2</sup>  
     Shame were it to tell,  
     How she waxed pregnant.  
     Jesus, cleanse my mouth! (11)  
     Lo, my tongue defiled  
 35 Their secret's telling! (13)  
     Two daughters she bare:  
     One, the dry land's shame;  
     One water's image.<sup>3</sup>  
     See, how they blaspheme!  
 40 No mean demon's form  
     In water appears;  
     How shall it mirror  
     Forth the pure, mystic  
     Holy Ghost's nature,  
 45 Which even in mind  
     Cannot be pictured?<sup>4</sup> (11)  
     He says: *"When again*  
     *Shall we see thy feast,*  
     *And behold the maid,*  
 50 *The daughter, to whom*  
     *On thy knee thou croon'st?"* (or .)  
     He proves by his songs,  
     Vile in lullabies,  
     Womanish in lilts,  
 55 That he soils the fair  
     Holy Spirit's name,  
     Which is alway pure. (11)  
     Enough of reproach  
     Is their secret song  
 60 Of her now, who says:  
     *"My God and prince, hast left me*  
     *lone?"* (or .)<sup>5</sup>  
     Ashamed of his vice  
     He clothes his song in  
     A psalm's beauteous form,  
 65 Chaste, holy—which spake  
     Our Lord: "God, my God,  
     Why hast thou left me?"<sup>6</sup> (10, or,  
     counting 61 as 2, 11)  
     Professing to teach  
     From Moses, the law,  
 70 He scoffs Moses' words:  
     *"The chiefest delight*  
     *Whose gates by command*  
     *To mother are oped."*  
     In a place of shame  
 75 He puts paradise.  
     The clear law reproves

<sup>1</sup> The word for "ghost" or "spirit" is in Syriac feminine; used of the Holy Ghost it is later commonly masculine, in this context consistently feminine.

<sup>2</sup> A distich of six-syllable verses; cf. following note.

<sup>3</sup> Nau, *Patrologia Syriaca*, II, 504, footnote, says of verses 29-38: "Auctor translationis latinae illa verba non intellexit. Hilgenfeld (pp. 40-42) credit se intellegere. Certum ne est ipsummet Sanctum Ephrem versus Bardesanitarum [p. 557C] intellexisse et expressisse? . . . legi potest: Filia pedis tui (femoris tui) erit mihi filia et tibi soror. . . . Genuit duas filias: allam terram miserabilem et alteram configurationem (congregationem) aquarum." Cf. Gen. 1:9-10.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. II Cor. 3:18; Hymn of the Soul, distich 76-78, and G. Hoffmann's remarks on the latter in *Z/NTW*, IV (1903), 4, 288.

<sup>5</sup> Or "*We shall*"; "*thy*" is feminine.

<sup>6</sup> One eight-syllable verse, or distich of four-syllable verses.

<sup>7</sup> Ps. 22:2; Mark 15:34 and parallels.

- As in a mirror  
Their hateful teaching. (11)  
He hates paradise,  
80 The blest, of the saint,<sup>1</sup>  
And lauds another,  
A place of reproach,  
Which gods have laid out,  
Father and mother  
85 In union planted,  
By footsteps seeded.  
In the par'dise tale  
Their judge<sup>2</sup> is Moses,  
For he wrote not so. (11)  
90 In Eden there placed  
The Lord paradise.<sup>3</sup>  
But one<sup>4</sup> Moses preached;  
Two this one proclaims,  
Which gods have laid out  
95 In a place I blush  
To mention by name.  
The snake that seduced  
Adam in the tree  
Deceived this man in  
100 The paradise tale. (11)  
Sun and moon he sees,  
The sun as father,  
As mother the moon;  
Both male and female  
105 Gods and their offspring.  
With full mouth blasphemes  
He, and praises hosts.  
*"Praise to ye, oh lords  
Of the hosts of gods,"*  
110 He shouts unashamed. (10)  
The Maccabees found  
Slain men of the Jews;  
Finding in their breasts  
Heathenish idols,  
115 They offered for them  
Prayer and sacrifice.<sup>5</sup>  
And ye, oh ye saints,  
Pray for Bardaisan,  
Who died a heathen,  
120 Legions<sup>6</sup> in his heart,  
The Lord in his mouth.<sup>7</sup> (11)

## II

Aside from these scanty quotations, our knowledge of Bardaisan's activity and fame as a poet rests upon the following evidence: the passage of Ephrem's hymn, No. 53, *Adv. Haer.*, quoted in Syriac and in translation on p. 168; six lines of the first hymn, *Adv. Haer.* (t. II, 438): "In Bardaisan's dens [are found] tunes and melodies intended for youth eager for sweetness; by his songs' harmony he rouses the desire of childhood," i.e., of the childish mind; Hymn 54 (t. II, 555 C/D) mentions "the hymns of one of them," viz., of the Bardesanites. Ephrem, *Opp. Syr.-Lat.*, t. III, pp. li f., the section of the Vatican Acts of Ephrem dealing with Bardaisan's poetry, is largely based on these passages of Ephrem. The same section of the Parisian Acts (Lamy, Vol. II, col. 66) contains a criticism of its own chief source, the *Church History* of Theodoret of Cyrillus (see below), based upon a slovenly quotation of the passage from the 53d hymn, *Adv. Haer.* The Acts of Rabbula (Overbeck, *S. Ephraemi Syri aliorumque Opera Selecta* [Oxford, 1865], pp. 192, ll. 13-16, reprinted in the chrestomathy of Brockelmann's grammar) say: "The accursed Bardaisan had been beforehand in his guile, and by the sweetness of his melodies had bound to himself all the great ones of the city [Edessa], that by them instead of strong walls he might be protected." These are all the extant witnesses for the native Syriac tradition, which is indirectly corroborated by Eusebius, *H.E.*, IV, 30; Jerome, *De Vir. Ill.*, c. 30.

Sozomenus, *H.E.*, III, 16 (copied by Nicephorus Callixtus), presents what seems to be in part, at least, an independent tradition, which introduces into history that elusive phantom-image of Bardaisan, his son Harmonius. Bardaisan is passed over with very brief mention, whereupon Harmonius proceeds completely to usurp the place of his father. Indeed, we learn to our surprise—and this is Sozomenus' trump card—that Harmonius has sprung from absolute obscurity to be the founder, not only of all Bardesanite, but also of all Syriac poetry. In spite of this his tremendous importance, he is passed over in utter silence, not only by Eusebius, but by Ephrem, also. All that is said of him, when he does appear, is either preposterous, or it is a mere repetition of what is elsewhere said of his father. Two other sons of Bardaisan, mentioned by Michael the Syrian (*Chronique*, ed. Chabot, Paris, 1900, pp. 109 f., 183 f.), bear Syro-Arabic names, Abgarun and Ḥasdu. Harmonius is, therefore, one of the unsolved mysteries of history.

In view of all this suspicion does not seem unwarranted that this Harmonius' fame as a poet rests largely, if not wholly, upon his harmonious name, and, indeed, that this Bardaisan-son of the Greek name, "discovered" by Sozomenus, is nothing more nor less than a mere misreading or miswriting of ܐܒܕܝܢ, ܐܒܕܝܢܐ, or ܐܒܕܝܢܐ into ܐܒܕܝܢܐ, ܐܒܕܝܢܐ in a sentence very like that of the Vatican Acts of Ephrem, p. li, ll. 15 ff., followed

naturally by the insertion after it of  $\alpha\psi$ , perhaps supposed to be omitted by haplography, and by the "correction" of the preceding verbal form, to the right gender, not improbably under the impression that its final  $\lambda$  (Estrangelo) was a miswriting for initial  $\alpha$  of Harmonius. Mistranslation of some epithet of Bardaisan's formed by means of *bar*, or inner-Greek corruption,  $\nu\acute{\iota}\delta\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\rho\mu\acute{o}\nu\iota\alpha\varsigma$  becoming  $\nu\acute{\iota}\delta\varsigma \acute{\Lambda}\rho\mu\acute{o}\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma$ , may or may not have helped the "discovery." That the "one of them" of Ephrem's *Adv. Haer.* No. 54 (*vide supra*) had any influence in the matter is highly improbable, though it shows us, what we might have expected, that Ephrem knew more than one Bardesanite poet.

It is hardly to be supposed that Sozomenus himself committed this error (if error it be), which his writings introduce to us. Sozomenus, born and reared near Gaza, probably knew Syriac too well for such misreading or mistranslation. Schoo (*Quellen des Sozomenus*, Berlin, 1911, p. 142) is almost certainly at fault when for the chapter of the church history quoted above he assumes oral or written native Syriac sources, except for a little section dependent on Palladius' *Historia Lausiaca*. Sozomenus depends, as did Gregory of Nyssa<sup>1</sup> before him, on Acts of Ephrem, written and published, and without much doubt translated into Greek no long time after Ephrem's death, as Gregory's use of them would show. If a year ago so speedy a growth of legend might have seemed improbable to many of us, recent events have shown to him who will not close his eyes that, in this most modern of worlds, myth, legend, and pure fable do grow contemporaneously with or even before the event upon which they fasten themselves.

To the regular stock of these Acts belonged a section on heresies at Edessa with mention of Bardaisan as Ephrem's chief adversary, and of his songs. Gregory omits the name of Bardaisan altogether, as of no concern to himself, and coolly substitutes therefor that of his own pet opponent, Apollinarius of Laodicea, whose name is in turn not mentioned by Ephrem, though his doctrines are said to be referred to in the hymns *Adversus Scrutatores, Opera Omnia Syr.-Lat.*, t. III, 1-208.<sup>2</sup> And it is in this section, just where the Vatican Acts (*loc. cit.*) expatiate upon the impetus given to Bardaisan's heresy by his poetic activity, that Sozomenus out of a clear sky introduces the son Harmonius, who immediately displaces his illustrious father and speedily grows out of all bounds. The place, therefore, and the manner, in which the Harmonius fiction comes to light, indicate that it is the Greek translator of such acts, or the redactor of such a translation, who

<sup>1</sup> *Encomium on Ephrem*, in Migne, *PG*, 46, 819-50. He already knew a day dedicated annually to the memory of Ephrem (col. 821D). For this festive occasion Gregory composed his encomium, and on such a day some biographical account of the hero would, as a matter of course, be read, wherever the festival was kept, as the Nyssene's own homily, decked out in the colors of the Metaphrast, is read to the present day. The writer of this essay is not unaware of the fact that Gregory also made liberal use in this homily of the s. c. *Testament of Ephrem*.

<sup>2</sup> On the life and teachings of this Apollinarius we are much in need of more light.

served Sozomenus as a source—a man, probably, to whom the early history of the Edessene church meant little—who is responsible for the Athenaeian birth of the mysterious Harmonius and for the impetus toward his inordinate growth. With some *ἑκφρασις* of his own, it is probably merely this man's error which Sozomenus has been the means of perpetuating.

Upon Sozomenus rests Theodoret of Cyrrhus (*Haer. Fab.*, I, 22; *H.E.*, IV, 29;<sup>1</sup> *Epist.*, 145; cf. Güldenpenning, *Theodoret von Kyrrhos* (Halle, 1889), p. 41; Rauschen, *Jahrbücher der christl. Kirche unter Theodosius d. Gr.*, Freiburg, 1897, p. 7; Leon Parmentier, "Theodoret, Kirchengeschichte," in *Griech. christl. Schr.*, Leipzig, 1911, Einleitg., esp. pp. lxxxiii–xc). But as he goes beyond Sozomenus to Eusebius and to Greek translations of original Syriac sources(?) for his information on Bardaisan, so he seems to have gone directly to the source of Sozomenus for his statement of the history of Harmonius. True, he adds to Sozomenus only one detail: that Harmonius received his Greek education at Athens; and that might be only a shrewd guess, if not of Theodoret himself (note the *φασὶ δὲ καὶ* introducing this very statement), then perhaps of some Greek reader of Sozomenus, or of his source. But he has modified the extravagance of Sozomenus so far, that what remains of Harmonius is no longer anything more than the *alter ego* of Bardaisan's own poetic ability and work, not the originator of Syriac poetry. As against Sozomenus, who wrote at Constantinople, the influence of the native tradition on Theodoret at Cyrrhus, scarce more than 100 miles west of Edessa, is unmistakable; his own words are against rather than for his use of Syriac sources in the matter. It is in this emaciated form given him by Theodoret that Harmonius henceforth leads a tenuous, troubled, and wraith-like existence in the histories of the ancients. The author of the Parisian Acts of Ephrem (*vide supra*) in § 31 has incorporated bodily the section of Theodoret's church history above referred to, stopping in the middle of it to give voice to his doubts about Harmonius.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Accusations of faulty chapter-quotation with regard to this passage are due to faulty knowledge on the part of the accusers. The facts are—as a careful look into Migne, or even into Schulze's edition of Sirmond, will make fairly clear—that the count of the chapters at this point varies widely in the various editions: our numbering, 29, follows with Parmentier's definitive edition the count of the *editio princeps*, Basel, 1535, Stephanus and Valesius; Migne reprinted Noesselt's revision of Sirmond, who numbered this chapter 26; Christopherson is alone in counting this as chapter 27; the manuscript numbering, probably that of Theodoret himself (cf. Parmentier's Introduction, p. xlii), departs from all these, in counting this section as λ' = 30.

<sup>2</sup> Lamy's delimitation of the quotations at this point is in need of precision. The direct quotation from Theodoret begins with *ܡܬܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ* and continues to *ܕܡܪܝܢܐ*, where it is interrupted by an insert of the author's which contains the verses of Ephrem above referred to (p. 199); the insert extends from *ܡܬܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ* to *ܡܬܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ*, where with *ܡܬܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ* the Theodoret text is again taken up and continues without further break to its end, *ܡܬܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ*.



Michael the Syrian<sup>1</sup> borrows the name only of Harmonius from Theodoret, to add it to the other two (*vide supra*), whose source is unknown. And this is the sum and substance of our source material for Harmonius, son of Bardaisan.

Manifestly it is a thin and unclear stream of Greek, non-Syrian, non-Edessene tradition alone, which has carried to us the name of this bloodless poet, who has been a thorn in the flesh of historians for lo these many years. Neither Eusebius with Jerome nor the native Syriac tradition, represented by Ephrem, the Vatican Acts of Ephrem, the Acts of Rabbula, Philoxenus of Mabbugh, the critical editor of the Parisian Acts of Ephrem, the hesitant attitude of Theodoret (φασι δὲ καὶ in *Haer. Fab.*, I, 22), know aught of him. Gregory Abulfarag Barhebraeus, though he uses Michael the Syrian as a trusted source, omits the fated Harmonius from all mention. This does make the compromising attitude of the revered Hort (*DCB*, s.v. "Bardaisan") seem over-careful, and the hypothesis set forth above does not appear in this light as too extreme a solution of a knotty *crux historiographorum*.

With Harmonius, indeed, there disappears also all foundation for any claim, that Bardaisan may have, to be the founder or inventor of Syriac poetry, or, at least, hymn-writing. The loss is not a serious one. This claim was urged first, I believe—most strongly, at any rate—by August Hahn in *Bardesanus Gnosticus Syrorum Primus Hymnologus*, p. 29. Hahn, here as elsewhere too implicitly followed by Duval, bases it upon a phrase of the passage from Ephrem, alluded to at the beginning of this excursus (p. 199): ܠܗ ܐܝܬܐ ܡܝܬܪܐܝܬܐ, which "literally" does mean "he introduced meters." But this is one of not a few cases in which a literal translation is absolutely wrong and misleading. The sense of the Syriac in its context (p. 168) is perfectly clear; it is best conveyed to the English reader by some such phrase as "he put them [i.e., his songs] into verse" or "into metrical form." Thus Hahn's chief proof-text vanishes, as we have seen his "corroborative" evidence melt away (p. 196, n. 1). There is no evidence whatsoever that Bardaisan considered himself the inventor of any new procedure in Syriac poetry. Ephrem neither says nor hints anything of the sort, nor does any Syrian writer of repute. They knew better. Hahn was tricked into this mistranslation by a statement, which he believed himself to be refuting, viz., the Harmonius tale of Sozomenus. But this tale of the "invention" of Syriac poetry which attaches to the Greek name Harmonius is on the face of it a Greek invention, whose purpose is perfectly plain in the history-book of the Byzantine courtier Sozomenus: Harmonius, the man of the Greek name, had received a Greek education; and *this accounts for the barbarian's ability to introduce to his countrymen such unheard-of things as meters and musical strains*. From the Greek point of view a highly patriotic hypothesis! Rather less likely than W. Meyer's, however. And little wonder that it found no adherents among educated Syrians.

<sup>1</sup> *Loc. cit.*; cf. Nau, *Une Biographie inédite de Bardesane*, Paris, 1897, p. 1.

## APPENDIX II

Among the Syriac manuscripts purchased by the Semitic Museum of Harvard University from J. Rendel Harris there is further a manuscript of the first three books of the Dialogues of Severus of Mar Mattai (bar Shakko).

The manuscript (Semitic Museum No. 4059, formerly Cod. Syr. 124 of J. Rendel Harris' collection; cf. fol. 2a; see below) consists of 136 leaves, 22.6×15.8 cm., in gatherings of double leaves, as follows: Nos. 1 and 15 (the latter marked on the lower margin of its first page ܡ) of twos; Nos. 2-13 (marked in the lower margins of first—except 1 and 2—and last pages from 1 to ܡ) of fives; No. 14 (ܡ) of four. Rulings of 19 lines block out a writing-surface of 16.7×10 cm. The leaves are numbered on the recto in the upper left-hand corner in penciled, occidental numerals, 1-136 (probably by J. Rendel Harris); in the lower left-hand corner, foll. 6-134, in Syriac letters ܐ-ܟ, sometimes supplemented by Arabic numerals (written in ink). Catchwords insure the proper succession of leaves. Headings throughout are in red; an arch of oriental scrollwork, blue, white, and black on a red background, not wholly without taste, incloses the opening words on fol. 5a.

The heavy paper, of a kind much in vogue in the modern Levant, bears the watermark of the Fratelli Palazzuoli in Latin and Arabic characters. The English binder has added guards and fly-leaves of his own, leaving his stamp on the guard under the left-hand cover: "Bound by Wilson & Son, Cambridge." The binding is of dark-gray cloth with black sheepskin back and corners. The title, stamped in gold on the back, between the second and third of eight pairs of lines, reads: JACOB BAR SHAKKO-DIALOGUES. Within the left-hand cover is pasted J. Rendel Harris' bookmark.

Fol. 1a contains a line and a quarter of Syriac script in the hand of the main scribe: ܝܡܢܐ. ܡܢܬܐ ܡܠܠܐ. ܢܬܠܐ ܥܝܢܐ ܥܠܐ. ܡܢܬܐ ܡܠܠܐ. ܝܡܢܐ. . . . . ܢܐܘ ܡܢܬܐ, an unfinished saw, warning against careless speech—an inscription not unmeet for a book on grammar, rhetoric, and versification. The legend, "Jacob bar Shakko-Dialogues," is written under the mark "Cod. Syr. 124" on fol. 2a, both in J. Rendel Harris' hand. Farther down on the same page another hand (Professor D. G. Lyon's) has written "Semitic Museum No. 4059."

Foll. 2b-4b and 135a contain models of letter-writing, chiefly ecclesiastical, in a cramped, uncertain hand (supplementing foll. 81b-92?). The body of the book is in a flowing, professional, modern Jacobite hand, and is correctly defined by the index, fol. 5a, as follows: The first Mīmṛā, on grammar, extends from fol. 5b to 50 (ܡܢܬܐ) b, being divided into two sections at fol. 34 (ܡ) a; Mīmṛā 2, on rhetoric, covers foll. 51 (ܡܠܐ) a to 102 (ܡ, 98) a; and Mīmṛā 3, on poetics, foll. 102b-134 (ܡ) a. Under the index, names and dates of Severus together with a bibliographical note on his writings are given from the *Chronicon Ecclesiasticum* of Barhebraeus.

Colophons are found as follows: fol. 33 (ح) b: "The book from which we copied was written in the year 1938 of the Greeks (= 1626 A.D.), and its writer's name was Barṣauma"; fol. 50 (ح) b: "Finished by the mean and sinful deacon, the Jerusalemite Matthaeus, son of Paul, deceased, in the city of Moṣul on the third of Kanun I, 1895 Christian; in the days, when [an erasure has here blotted out a word, probably 'Moslems'] rose against the Christians and killed them without mercy in the city of Amid [i.e., Diarbekr] and the surrounding towns and villages"; fol. 102 (ح) a mentions merely the date 1895; the longest and most important colophon closes the main body of the book on fol. 134 (ح) b:

Finished and ended is this precious book called The Book of the Dialogues of our Father, celebrated among celibates and a saint among bishops, Mar Severus, i.e., Jacob bar Talia, the Syrian; in which are contained various sciences; in the year 2207 of the Greeks and 1895 Christian, in the middle of the month Kanun I, in the days of our Fathers elect, filled with wisdom and truth, Maran Mar Ignatius, Patr<i>iarch</i>, servant of Christ; and Mar Dionysius, Metr<i>opolitan</i>, Behnam of Moṣul; and Mar Cyrillus, Metr<i>opolitan</i>, Elias in the monastery of Mar Mattai; with the rest of the fathers. May the Lord prolong their lives and by their prayers guard their flocks! Amen. And it was written by the mean and sinful deacon, the Jerusalemite Matthaeus, son of Paul, deceased, in the city of Moṣul, surnamed Asshur and Niniveh, in the quarter [hostelry?] of the church of Mary, Mother of God, in the quarter of the carpenters; and we copied it from an ancient book, which Barṣauma wrote in the year 1938 Gr<i>eek</i>; and this book was written in the days, when [another erasure; read "the Moslems"] rose up against the Christians and massacred them in the city of Amid and the villages round about, and in Melitene, and in Se'erd and Batlis; and in all the countryside and cities and villages, where there were Syrians and Armenians, they killed them without mercy; and in Severak. If one became [a Moslem: partly legible through an erasure] he was safe, but a Christian was slain. And their wives and children were led away captive; and they killed them [and despoiled them in their houses: this by the cramped hand in the lower margin]. This is that which happened: [corrector as before: In this] [the flowing hand now continues in the right-hand margin:] an admonition for the generations [this last word stands in place of another erasure] who shall come after.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A note of no small interest in the present. The excited, broken sentences at the end are eloquent. Of the places mentioned Amid-Diarbekr is well enough known. Melitene is probably better known by that name than by its modern equivalent Malat'iyeh. For Se'erd, written also Se'ert, Se'ört, Sse'ört, Sā'irt, Sī'ird, and Is'irt, now Sō'örd, *JAS*, X série, 15 (1910), p. 107, cf. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, IX, 99, 534; Shiel, *Jour. Roy. Geogr. Soc.*, VIII (1838), 81 f.; Fr. B. Charmoy, *Cherèsoud-din* (Petersburg, 1868-75), I, 463; Socin, "Tur Abdin," *ZDMG*, XXXV (1881), 240; Prym und Socin, *Dialekt des Tur Abdin*, p. 418; G. Hoffmann, *Ausz. aus syr. Akten* (*Abh. f. d. Kunde des Morg.*, VII, 3), p. 5, 259, and n. 1359. Batlis, Badlis, more usually Bitlis, Ritter, *Erdkunde*, IX, 93, 1004; Southgate, *Narrative of Tour through Armenia* (1840), I, 218; Layard, *Discoveries in . . . Niniveh* (1853), p. 37; Prym und Socin, *op. cit.*, pp. v and 416; Severak or Sewerak, also written Suverak, Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria* 4th ed. (1906), p. 389, Map of Syria, Mesopotamia, and Babylonia, west of Diarbekr, a little east of the Euphrates. See also LeStrange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp. 108, 113 f., 120.

Of this work of Severus bar Shakko portions not contained in this manuscript have been published in some form by J. Ruska, *Das Quadrivium aus S. b. S. Buch der Dialoge*, Leipzig, 1896 (inaccessible to the writer); cf. ZA, XII; of the portions contained in the Harvard manuscript, Merx published an analysis of the grammatical sections in his *Historia artis grammaticae apud Syros* (Leipzig, 1889) (*Abh. f. d. Kunde des Morg.*, IX, 2); and eleven chapters of the third Mimir with a few pages of the first were published in full, together with a French translation, by M. l'abbé Martin in *De la Métrique chez les Syriens* (Leipzig, 1879) (*Abh. f. d. Kunde des Morg.*, VII, 2), cf. *Jour. As.* (1872, Avril-Mai). Up to the present time this publication of Martin's represented the oldest, most extensive, and pretentious work on Syriac versification by a native author yet published. It is of especial importance for the present publication, though the text published by Martin is bound thereby to lose in intrinsic value, since, as Duval (*Or. Stud. Th. Nöldeke gew.*, loc. cit.) has pointed out, Severus has in this portion of his work made extensive use, often verbatim, of the work of Anthony of Tagrit, published in the foregoing pages (a list of parallel passages in the Introduction, p. 174). This is a discovery doubly welcome to us, since this particular part of Anthony's work seems, so far as yet known, to be very poorly preserved. As Martin's work is subject to improvement,<sup>1</sup> this collation with notes of the Harvard manuscript with Martin's text will be found of some use. It is hoped that the remaining ten chapters of this treatise may be made public at a date not too far in the future.

## COLLATION

The symbol *H* is used for the Harvard manuscript. The numbers fixing the location of variants refer to the lines of pages and notes (n.) in Martin's edition.

*H* fol. 102b; *Martin* p. 8

*H* add. ܐܘܬ at the beginning of the title (8:1).

*H* om. ܡܪܝܬ in the title, with *O*; it vocalizes ܡܪܝܬ (8:1).

8:3, ܡܪܝܬ ܡܪܝܬ: *H* ܡܪܝܬ ܡܪܝܬ; 8:4, ܡܪܝܬ ܡܪܝܬ: *H* ܡܪܝܬ ܡܪܝܬ;  
8:6, cf. n. 3. *H*=*O*; 8:8, ܡܪܝܬ: *H* ܡܪܝܬ; 8:11, ܡܪܝܬ ܡܪܝܬ: *H* ܡܪܝܬ ܡܪܝܬ;  
8:12, [ܡܪܝܬ ܡܪܝܬ]: *H*=*O*, cf. n. 8.

9, n. 1, *H*=*O*; 9:1, ܡܪܝܬ ܡܪܝܬ: *H* ܡܪܝܬ ܡܪܝܬ; 9, n. 5, *H*=*O*; 9:3/4, no indication of any lacuna after ܡܪܝܬ in *H*, which has full stop: ܐ. 9:5, ܡܪܝܬ ܡܪܝܬ: *H* ܡܪܝܬ ܡܪܝܬ; *H* fol. 103a (ܡܪܝܬ), *init.* ܡܪܝܬ ܡܪܝܬ;

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nöldeke, *ZDMG*, XXXIV (1880), 569-78.



means of a brickmold and clay, brick is formed." *H* fol. 105a =  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$ ,  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$  *incip.*  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$  (in red); 13:9, n. 7 *H* (in red)  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$ ; 13:10,  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$ : *H*  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$ ; 13, n. 9, *H* = *O*; 13, n. 9, *H* = *O* (= "by the scanner" rather than "by the versifier"?); 13:13,  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$ : *H*  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$ ; 13:14,  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$ : *H*  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$ ; 13:18,  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$  (1): *H*  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$ ; *post*  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$  *H* *add.*  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$  (both without *Seydmē*); 13, n. 12, I do not understand this note; there seems to be no variant.

14:1,  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$  (2): *H*  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$  (a senseless scribal error); 14:3,  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$ : *H*  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$ ; 14, n. 2, *H* = *O*.

fol. 105b, *incip.*  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$ ; 14:5,  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$ : *H*  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$ ; 14:6, *ante*  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$  *H* *add.*  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$ ; 14:7,  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$ : *H*  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$  (in red); 14:8,  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$ : *H*  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$ ; 14, n. 3, *H*  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$ ; 14, n. 4, *H*  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$ ; 14, n. 5, *H*  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$ ; i.e., "the first genus is that which is formed by the first placing of *Mūnīṣas* and is named from them *Su'rānā* *z'ūrā* (the small category)"; cf. Antonius Rhetor, Canon II fin., *H* fol. 93a ll. 23 f.; 14, n. 6, *H* = *O*, a mere scribal error; 14:14,  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$ : *H*  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$  (scribal error); 14:15,  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$ : *H*  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$ ; 14:17,  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$ : *H*  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$ ; 14, n. 8, *H* = *O*, *sed sine Seydmē*; 14, n. 9, *H* = *O*; the remark is misplaced; it should follow  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$ ; 14:20, under  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$  *H* has in the margin:  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$ ; *H* fol. 106a, *𐤁𐤍* *incip.*  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$ ; 14:21,  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$ : *H*  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$ .

15, n. 1, *H* = *O*; 15:1,  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$ : *H*  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$ ;  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$ : *H*  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$ ; 15:3,  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$ : *H*  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$ ; 15, n. 4, *H* = *O*, *sed scribit*  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$ ; 15, n. 5, *H* = *O*; 15:6, *H* *om.*  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$ ; 15, n. 6, I do not understand this; no variant is apparent; 15, n. 7, *H* = *O*; 15:10,  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$ : *H*  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$ ; 15, n. 8, *H* = *L* (a mere scribal error, repetition, in *O*); 15, n. 10, *H* = *O*; *H* fol. 106b *incip.*  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$ ; 15:16,  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$ : *H*  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$ ; 15:17,  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$ : *H*  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$ ; 15:18, *post*  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$  *H* *add.*  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$ ; 15:20, *post*  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$  *H* *add.*  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$ ; 15:21,  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$ : *H*  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$ ; *H*  $\text{𐤁𐤍}$ .

22, n. 1,  $H=O$ ; 22, n. 2,  $H=O$ ; was the name of the scribe of that text to which  $O$  and  $H$ , and  $H$ 's immediate predecessor at Mosul may be traced back, Peter (?); 22, n. 3,  $H$  om.  $\text{ܡܝܚܝܐ}$ .

23, n. 1,  $H=L$ ; 23, n. 2, l. 2,  $\text{ܡܡܫܬܐ ܐܫܬܝܬܐ} : H \text{ ܡܡܫܬܐ ܐܫܬܝܬܐ}$ ;  $\text{ܡܡܫܬܐ ܐܫܬܝܬܐ} : H \text{ ܡܡܫܬܐ ܐܫܬܝܬܐ}$ ; 23, n. 2, l. 3,  $H$  om.  $\text{ܡܡܫܬܐ}$ ; (2):  $H \text{ ܡܡܫܬܐ ܐܫܬܝܬܐ}$ ; 23, n. 2, d,  $H=O$ ;  $H$  fol. 107a,  $\text{ܡܡܫܬܐ}$ , *incip.*  $\text{ܡܡܫܬܐ}$ ; 23, n. 2e,  $H=O$ ; 23, n. 2, l. 6,  $\text{ܡܡܫܬܐ} : H \text{ ܡܡܫܬܐ}$ ;  $H$  om.  $\text{ܡܡܫܬܐ}$ ; 23, n. 2, l. 7,  $\text{ܡܡܫܬܐ} : H \text{ ܡܡܫܬܐ}$ ; 23, n. 3,  $H=O$ .

24, n. 1,  $H=O$ ; 24, n. 2,  $H=O$ ; 24:6,  $\text{ܡܡܫܬܐ} : H \text{ ܡܡܫܬܐ}$ ; 24:9,  $\text{ܡܡܫܬܐ} : H \text{ ܡܡܫܬܐ}$ ; 24, n. 5,  $H=O$ ; 24, n. 7,  $\text{ܡܡܫܬܐ} : H \text{ ܡܡܫܬܐ}$ ; 24, n. 7 (p. 25),  $\text{ܡܡܫܬܐ} (1) : H \text{ ܡܡܫܬܐ}$ ;  $\text{ܡܡܫܬܐ} : H \text{ ܡܡܫܬܐ}$ .

25, n. 1,  $H=O$ ; 25, n. 2,  $H=O$ ; 25, n. 3,  $H=O$ ; 25:9,  $\text{ܡܡܫܬܐ} : H \text{ ܡܡܫܬܐ}$ ; 25, n. 4,  $H=O$ ;  $H$  fol. 107b, *incip. post*  $\text{ܡܡܫܬܐ}$ ; 25:12,  $\text{ܡܡܫܬܐ} : H \text{ ܡܡܫܬܐ}$ ; 25, n. 5,  $H=O$ .

26, n. 2,  $H$   $\text{ܡܡܫܬܐ}$ ; 26:3,  $\text{ܡܡܫܬܐ} : H \text{ ܡܡܫܬܐ}$ ; 26, n. 4,  $H=O$ ; 26:5,  $H$  om.  $\text{ܡܡܫܬܐ}$ , *add.*  $\text{ܡܡܫܬܐ}$  *post*  $\text{ܡܡܫܬܐ}$ ; 26:9,  $\text{ܡܡܫܬܐ} : H \text{ ܡܡܫܬܐ}$ ; "that thy son, who is of thee, will stab" or "pierce thee," not "te perdra"; 26:11,  $\text{ܡܡܫܬܐ} : H \text{ ܡܡܫܬܐ}$ ; 26, n. 5,  $H$   $\text{ܡܡܫܬܐ}$ .

27:1, "If thou ask as much as a little drop of water, he is harsher than poison" (but cf. also Nöldeke), not "Faire boire de l'eau mêlée à de l'urine c'est pis que donner du poison"; 27, n. 1,  $H=O$ ; 27:2,  $\text{ܡܡܫܬܐ} : H \text{ ܡܡܫܬܐ}$ ; 27, n. 3a,  $H=O$ ;  $H$  fol. 108a,  $\text{ܡܡܫܬܐ}$ , *incip.*  $\text{ܡܡܫܬܐ}$ ; 27, n. 3b,  $H=O$ ; 27, n. 3, l. 5,  $\text{ܡܡܫܬܐ} : H \text{ ܡܡܫܬܐ}$ ; 27, n. 3, l. 6,  $\text{ܡܡܫܬܐ} : H \text{ ܡܡܫܬܐ}$ ; 27, n. 3c,  $H=O$ ; 27, n. 4,  $H=O$  (correct:  $4 \times 3$  syllables); 27:5, *post*  $\text{ܡܡܫܬܐ}$   $H$  *add.*  $\text{ܡܡܫܬܐ}$ ;  $\text{ܡܡܫܬܐ} : H \text{ ܡܡܫܬܐ}$ ; 27, n. 5,  $H$   $\text{ܡܡܫܬܐ}$ ; 27:7,  $\text{ܡܡܫܬܐ} : H \text{ ܡܡܫܬܐ}$ ;  $\text{ܡܡܫܬܐ} : H \text{ ܡܡܫܬܐ}$ ;  $\text{ܡܡܫܬܐ} : H \text{ ܡܡܫܬܐ}$ ;  $\text{ܡܡܫܬܐ} : H \text{ ܡܡܫܬܐ}$  (all three correct).

28, n. 1,  $H=O$ , *exc.*  $\text{ܡܡܫܬܐ}$  *pro*  $\text{ܡܡܫܬܐ}$ ; 28:5,  $\text{ܡܡܫܬܐ} : H \text{ ܡܡܫܬܐ}$ ;  $\text{ܡܡܫܬܐ} : H \text{ ܡܡܫܬܐ}$ ;  $\text{ܡܡܫܬܐ} : H \text{ ܡܡܫܬܐ}$ ; 28, n. 2,  $H=L$  (all three correct); 28, n. 3,  $H=O$ ; 28:6,  $\text{ܡܡܫܬܐ} : H \text{ ܡܡܫܬܐ}$  (probably

also the reading intended by Martin); 28:7,  $\text{حُف}$  :  $H$   $\text{حُف}$ ; *post*  $\text{حُف}$   $H$  *add.*  $\text{حُف}$ ; 28, n. 5,  $H$   $\text{حُف}$  (correct); 28, n. 6,  $H=O$ ; 28:10,  $\text{حُف}$  :  $H$   $\text{حُف}$  (Martin's translation needs correction; "The tongue of the man who is wise speaks all manner of fair things of those good hoards, which are hidden in his heart"); 28:13,  $\text{حُف}$  :  $H$   $\text{حُف}$ ;  $H$  fol. 108b, *incip.*  $\text{حُف}$  :  $\text{حُف}$ ; 28, n. 7,  $H$   $\text{حُف}$  (correct); 28:16,  $H$   $\text{حُف}$  :  $\text{حُف}$ .

29:2,  $H$   $\text{حُف}$ ; n. 1,  $H$   $\text{حُف}$ ; 29:4,  $H$   $\text{حُف}$ ; 29:6,  $\text{حُف}$  :  $H$   $\text{حُف}$ ; *post*  $\text{حُف}$   $H$  *add.*  $\text{حُف}$ ; 29:7,  $H$  *om.*  $\text{حُف}$ ;  $H$   $\text{حُف}$ ; "imitates" or "emulates him," not "irrite"; 29:10,  $H$   $\text{حُف}$ ; 29:12,  $\text{حُف}$  :  $H$   $\text{حُف}$ ;  $H$   $\text{حُف}$ ; 29, n. 3,  $H$   $\text{حُف}$ ; 29:14,  $H$   $\text{حُف}$  (intended by Martin; cf. translation).

30:2,  $H$   $\text{حُف}$ ;  $H$  fol. 109a,  $\text{حُف}$ , *incip.*  $\text{حُف}$  (=O, 30, n. 1); 30:4,  $H$   $\text{حُف}$ ; 30:7,  $H$   $\text{حُف}$ ; 30, n. 3,  $H=O$ ; 30, n. 4,  $H=O$ ; 30:11,  $H$   $\text{حُف}$ ;  $H$   $\text{حُف}$ ;  $H$   $\text{حُف}$ ;  $H$   $\text{حُف}$ .

31:1,  $H$   $\text{حُف}$ ; 31, n. 1a,  $H=O$ ; 31, n. 1b,  $H=O$ ; 31:8,  $H$   $\text{حُف}$ ;  $H$  fol. 109b, *incip.*  $\text{حُف}$ ; 31:11,  $H$   $\text{حُف}$ ;  $H$   $\text{حُف}$ ;  $H$   $\text{حُف}$  (a rank scribal error; there is no such word); 31:12,  $H$   $\text{حُف}$ ;  $H$   $\text{حُف}$ ; 31, n. 1 (p. 32, l. 3),  $H$   $\text{حُف}$  (probably a mere misprint in Martin); *post*  $\text{حُف}$   $H$  *add.*  $\text{حُف}$ ; 31, n. 1 (p. 32, l. 4),  $H$   $\text{حُف}$ ;  $H$   $\text{حُف}$ ; 31, n. 1 (p. 32, l. 5),  $H$   $\text{حُف}$ ;  $H$   $\text{حُف}$ ; 31, n. 1 (pp. 32 f),  $H=O$ ; 31, n. 1 (p. 32, l. 5),  $H$   $\text{حُف}$ ; 31, n. 1 (p. 32g),  $H$   $\text{حُف}$ .

32, n. 1,  $H$   $\text{حُف}$ ; 32, n. 2,  $H$   $\text{حُف}$ ; 32:8,  $H$   $\text{حُف}$ ;  $H$  fol. 110,  $\text{حُف}$ , *incip.*  $\text{حُف}$ .

33, n. 1,  $H=O$ ; 33:2,  $H$   $\text{حُف}$ ; 33:3,  $H$   $\text{حُف}$ ; 33, n. 2,  $H$   $\text{حُف}$ ; 33, n. 3,  $H=O$ ,  $H$  omits also one  $\text{حُف}$  (as probably does O, the



fault lying either with Martin's notation or with the printer); 33:7,  $\text{amca}$ :  $H$   $\text{amc}$   $\text{am}$ ; 33:9, *ante*  $H$  *add.*  $\text{am}$ ; 33, n. 5,  $H=O$ ; 33, n. 7,  $H$   $\text{amca}$ ; 33, n. 8,  $H=O$ ; 33:14,  $\text{amca}$ :  $H$   $\text{amca}$ ;  $\text{amca}$  (as Martin intended); 33, n. 9,  $H=O$ ; 33, n. 10,  $H=O$ ;  $H$  fol. 110 *b incip.*  $\text{am}$ ; 33:18—34:1, should be translated: "And then we fashion and weave upon it any thought-content whatsoever. First, then, we test it and bring it to 'the tune' as to a crucible; and if the tune fit, then you may well chant (and employ) and write and read (it); but if not, then we must," etc.; 33:20,  $\text{amca}$ :  $H$   $\text{amca}$ .

34:1,  $\text{amca}$ :  $H$   $\text{amca}$ ; n. 1  $H=O$ ; n. 2  $H=O$ ; 34:2,  $\text{amca}$ :  $H$   $\text{amca}$ ; 34:3,  $\text{amca}$ :  $H$   $\text{amca}$  (intended by Martin?); 34:4,  $H$  *om.*  $\text{amca}$ ; 34:5,  $\text{amca}$ :  $H$   $\text{amca}$ ; n. 5  $H$   $\text{amca}$ ; 34:6,  $\text{amca}$ :  $H$   $\text{amca}$ ; 34, n. 6,  $H$   $\text{amca}$ ; 34:8,  $\text{amca}$ :  $H$   $\text{amca}$ ; 34, n. 8,  $H$   $\text{amca}$ ; 34, n. 9,  $H=O$ ; 34:9,  $H$  *om.*  $\text{amca}$ ; 34, n. 10,  $H=O$ ; 34:11,  $\text{amca}$ :  $H$   $\text{amca}$ ; 34, n. 11,  $H=O$ , *sed*  $O$   $\text{amca}$ :  $H$   $\text{amca}$ ;  $O$   $\text{amca}$ :  $H$   $\text{amca}$ ;  $H$  fol. 111a,  $\text{amca}$ , *incip.*  $\text{amca}$  (in red); 34:14,  $\text{amca}$ :  $H$   $\text{amca}$ ; 34:15,  $\text{amca}$ :  $H$  *om.*  $\text{amca}$ ; 34, n. 12,  $H=O$ ; 34, n. 13,  $H$   $\text{amca}$ :  $H$   $\text{amca}$ ; 34:17,  $\text{amca}$ :  $H$   $\text{amca}$  (correct); 34:18,  $\text{amca}$ :  $H$   $\text{amca}$  (so consistently, unless otherwise noted).

35:1,  $\text{amca}$ :  $H$   $\text{amca}$ ; 35, n. 2,  $H=O$ ; 35, n. 3,  $H=O$ ; 35, n. 4,  $H=O$  (so consistently henceforth, unless otherwise noted); 35:6,  $\text{amca}$ :  $H$   $\text{amca}$ ; 35:7,  $\text{amca}$ :  $H$   $\text{amca}$ ;  $H$  fol. 111b, *incip.*  $\text{amca}$  (35:10); 35, n. 10,  $H$   $\text{amca}$ ; 35:11,  $\text{amca}$ :  $H$   $\text{amca}$ ; 35:12,  $\text{amca}$ :  $H$   $\text{amca}$  *bis*; 35:11—14 should be read: "*Eskmā* is meter which is diversely beaten (*or* measured), though it be the same in stature; just as a straight leg and a crooked leg, which are both of one cubit,—not in stature, but in form (*eskmā*) do the lines differ," or better

still with Antonius Rhetor 100, 23: "not in stature (*or* height), but in the form of the lines do they differ." 35, n. 13,  $H = L$ ; but writes the word in red; 35:16,  $H$  om. ۛ; 35:17, ۛ:  $H$  ۛ (incorrect); Martin's translation "le vers" is ambiguous, to say the least; the meaning is "The reading (*or* recitation) of four-syllable meter may be imposed if it disturb not the sense, upon the eight-syllable meter"; the context makes this clear beyond a doubt.

[illegible]

*H* fol. 112b, *incip.* **بَعْمَلِكَا**, *om.* **بَع** (37:1f.); 37, n. 1, *H* **مُتَمَلَا** + **بَعْمَلِكَا**; 37:3, *H* **سَحَدَلَا**; 37:4, *H* **سَحَلَا**; 37:7, **بَعْمَلِكَا**; 37, n. 6, *H* = *L*; 37:11, *H* **صَح**; 37, n. 8, *H* **حَو** **صَح**; 37:15, *H* *om.* **بَع**; 37:16, *H* without abbrev.; *H* fol. 113a, **مَلَا**, *incip.* **صَحَلَا** (37:18).

[illegible]

39:2,  $\text{مَنْ} : H \text{مَنْ}$ ;  $\text{لَا} : H \text{لَا}$ ; 39:5,  $\text{عَلَى} : H \text{عَلَى}$ ; 39:7,

ⲙⲉⲙⲉⲙⲁ: *H* ⲙⲉⲙⲉⲙⲁ; *H* fol. 114a, ⲙⲉ, *incip.* ⲙⲉⲙⲁ (39:9); 39:10, *H* ⲙⲉⲙⲉⲙⲁ. ⲙⲉⲙⲉⲙⲁ. ⲙⲉⲙⲉⲙⲁ. ⲙⲉⲙⲉⲙⲁ; 39:17, *H om.* ⲙⲉⲙⲁ.

40:4, *post* ⲙⲉ *H add.* ⲙⲉⲙⲁ; 40, n. 5, *H* ⲙⲉⲙⲁ; 40:5, ⲙⲉⲙⲉⲙⲁ: *H* ⲙⲉⲙⲉⲙⲁ (correct); *H* fol. 114b, *incip.* ⲙⲉⲙⲁ (40:7); 40:13, ⲙⲉⲙⲉⲙⲁ: *H* ⲙⲉⲙⲉⲙⲁ (correct); 40:17, 18, ⲙⲉⲙⲉⲙⲁ. ⲙⲉⲙⲉⲙⲁ. ⲙⲉⲙⲉⲙⲁ: *H* ⲙⲉⲙⲉⲙⲁ. ⲙⲉⲙⲉⲙⲁ. ⲙⲉⲙⲉⲙⲁ.

41:1, *ante* ⲙⲉⲙⲁ *H add.* ⲙⲉⲙⲁ (Martin's notation for *O* is unclear, but probably means the same); 41:3, ⲙⲉⲙⲁ: *H* ⲙⲉⲙⲁ; ⲙⲉⲙⲁ: *H* ⲙⲉⲙⲁ; 41:4, ⲙⲉⲙⲉⲙⲁ: *H* ⲙⲉⲙⲉⲙⲁ; *H* fol. 115a, ⲙⲉ, ⲙⲉ, *incip.* ⲙⲉⲙⲉⲙⲁ; 41:5, *H* without abbrev.; 41:7, ⲙⲉⲙⲉⲙⲁ: *H* ⲙⲉⲙⲉⲙⲁ; 41:8, ⲙⲉⲙⲉⲙⲁ: *H* ⲙⲉⲙⲉⲙⲁ (misprint in Martin?); 41:14, *H* without abbrev.; not "en plaçant au premier vers de chaque strophe une lettre," but "at the beginning of every line in the same strophe"; 41, n. 7, *H* ⲙⲉⲙⲁ; 41:17, ⲙⲉ: *H* ⲙⲉ; n. 8 *H* ⲙⲉ: ⲙⲉ; 41:19, ⲙⲉ: *H* ⲙⲉ; (the mistake of an ignorant scribe); 41:20, *H* without abbrev.; ⲙⲉⲙⲁ: *H* ⲙⲉⲙⲁ.

*H* fol. 115b, *incip.* ⲙⲉⲙⲁ (42:2); 42:4, ⲙⲉⲙⲉⲙⲁ: *H* ⲙⲉⲙⲉⲙⲁ; 42, n. 3, *H* ⲙⲉⲙⲁ (as Martin intended for *O*?); 42:6, ⲙⲉ: *H* ⲙⲉ; ⲙⲉⲙⲁ: *H* ⲙⲉⲙⲁ; 42, n. 4, *H* ⲙⲉⲙⲁ; 42:7, ⲙⲉⲙⲉⲙⲁ: *H* ⲙⲉⲙⲉⲙⲁ; 42:8, ⲙⲉⲙⲁ: *H* ⲙⲉⲙⲁ; 42:9, ⲙⲉⲙⲉⲙⲁ: *H* ⲙⲉⲙⲉⲙⲁ.

48:2-5, *pro* ⲙⲉ *H. aut.* ⲙⲉ; the slightly different pointings throughout this verse did not seem worth noting in detail; *H* fol. 116a, *incip.* ⲙⲉⲙⲁ (48, n. 3, p. 49, l. 2); 48, n. 3, p. 49, l. 3, ⲙⲉⲙⲉⲙⲁ: *H* ⲙⲉⲙⲉⲙⲁ; n. 6 *H* ⲙⲉⲙⲁ.

49, n. 3, ⲙⲉⲙⲉⲙⲁ: *H* ⲙⲉⲙⲉⲙⲁ; 49, n. 4, l. 1, ⲙⲉ: *H* ⲙⲉ; 49, n. 4a=*H*; 49, n. 5, *H* ⲙⲉⲙⲁ; 49, n. 6, *H*=*L*.

50, n. 1, l. 1, ⲙⲉ: *H* ⲙⲉ; 50:7, ⲙⲉ: *H* ⲙⲉ; 50:8, ⲙⲉⲙⲁ: *H* ⲙⲉⲙⲁ.

*H* fol. 116b, *incip.* مَظْمَع (51, n. 1, l. 1); 51, n. 1a, *H* مَظْمَعَا; 51, n. 1, l. 7, مَظْمَعَا: *H* مَظْمَعَا; 51, n. 1d, *H* مَظْمَعَا (intended for *O* by Martin?); 51, n. 1, l. 8, *H* om. مَظْمَع; 51:4, مَظْمَع: *H* مَظْمَع; 51:5, مَظْمَع: *H* مَظْمَع; 51, n. 3, *H* مَظْمَعَا; 51, n. 7, مَظْمَع: *H* مَظْمَع; 51, n. 8, *H* = *L*; 51:9, مَظْمَع: *H* مَظْمَعَا.

52, n. 1, مَظْمَع: *H* مَظْمَع; 52, n. 3, *H* = *L*; vs. 3, omitted in the text, is inserted by the first hand in the lower margin; مَظْمَعَا: *H* مَظْمَعَا; 52, n. 4, *H* = *L*; *H* fol. 117a, مَظْمَع, *incip.* مَظْمَعَا (52:5); 52:9, مَظْمَعَا: *H* مَظْمَعَا.

53, n. 1, l. 1, مَظْمَع: *H* مَظْمَع; مَظْمَعَا: *H* مَظْمَعَا; مَظْمَع: *H* مَظْمَع; 53, n. 1, l. 2, مَظْمَعَا: *H* مَظْمَعَا; 53, n. 1a, *H* = *L*, *exc.* مَظْمَع pro مَظْمَع et مَظْمَع pro مَظْمَع; 53, n. 1, l. 5, مَظْمَعَا: *H* مَظْمَعَا; 53, n. 1, l. 6, مَظْمَع: *H* مَظْمَع; 53, n. 1c, *H* = *L*; 53, n. 1, l. 8, *H* without abbrev.; مَظْمَع: *H* مَظْمَع; not "le vers commence par une lettre, s'appuie sur une seconde et finisse par une troisième," but "one and the same verse opens with one letter and arrives at and ends in another"; 53, n. 1, l. 9, مَظْمَع: *H* مَظْمَع.

*H* fol. 117b *incip.* مَظْمَع (54:1); 54:11, مَظْمَعَا: *H* مَظْمَعَا; 54:12, مَظْمَعَا: *H* مَظْمَعَا; 54, n. 5, *H* *trsp.* مَظْمَعَا. مَظْمَعَا. مَظْمَعَا.

55, n. 1, l. 1, مَظْمَع: *H* مَظْمَع; 55, n. 1, l. 2, مَظْمَعَا: *H* مَظْمَعَا; *H* om. مَظْمَع; 55, n. 1a, *H* مَظْمَعَا; 55, n. 3, مَظْمَع: *H* مَظْمَع; *H* fol. 118a, مَظْمَع, *incip.* مَظْمَعَا (55:3).

56:3, مَظْمَعَا: *H* مَظْمَعَا; مَظْمَعَا: *H* مَظْمَعَا; 56:4, مَظْمَع: *H* مَظْمَع; مَظْمَع: *H* مَظْمَع; 56:5, مَظْمَعَا: *H* مَظْمَعَا; 56:10, مَظْمَعَا: *H* مَظْمَعَا; 56, n. 7, *H* مَظْمَعَا.

57, n. 1, l. 1, مَظْمَع: *H* مَظْمَعَا; مَظْمَع: *H* مَظْمَع; 57, n. 1b, *H* مَظْمَعَا; 57, n. 1, l. 5, *post* مَظْمَعَا *H* add. مَظْمَعَا; 57, n. 1, l. 7, *H* om. مَظْمَع; (at this point begins *L* fol. 73b); 57, n. 1, l. 8, مَظْمَع: *H* مَظْمَع;

57, n. 1, l. 9,  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$  *H* (and *O*?) should be included in note *c*; *H* fol. 118b, *incip.*  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$  (57, n. 1, l. 9); not: "Tous les vers n'ont qu'une seule mesure"; but "all (the verses) begin and end with one and the same letter."

58:6,  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$  *H*  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$ ; 58:11,  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$  *H*  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$ ; 58:13,  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$  *H*  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$ ; 58:15, *ante*  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$  *H* *add.*  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$ .

59:4,  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$  *H*  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$ ; 59:5, *H* *om.*  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$ ; 59, n. 3, l. 3, *H* without abbrev.; *H* fol. 119a,  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$ , *incip.*  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$  (59, n. 3 *fin.*); 59:10,  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$  *H*  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$ ;  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$  *H*  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$ .

60:1,  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$  *H*  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$ ; 60:6/7, *H*  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$ ; 60:7/8,  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$  *H*  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$ ; 60, n. 2,  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$  *H*  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$ ; 60:10,  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$  *H*  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$ ; 60:11,  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$  *H*  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$ ; 60:13, *H* *incip.*  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$ .

61, n. 1,  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$  *H*  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$ ; 61:8, *H* *om.*  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$ ; 61, n. 3, *H* without abbrev.; 61:9,  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$  *H*  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$  (thus repeating the word thrice).

*H* fol. 119b, *incip.*  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$  (62:1); 62:1,  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$  *H*  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$ ; 62:2,  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$  *H*  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$ ; *post*  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$  *H* *add.*  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$ ; 62:4,  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$  *H*  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$ ; 62:10, 13, *H* without abbrev.; 62:11,  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$  *H*  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$ ; 62:15,  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$  *H*  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$ ; 62:17,  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$  *H*  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$ .

63:1,  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$  *H*  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$ ; 63:3,  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$  *H*  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$ ; 63, n. 3, *init.*  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$  *H*  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$ ; 63, n. 3, l. 3,  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$  *H*  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$ ; *incip.*  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$  (63, n. 3, l. 4); 63, n. 3, l. 4, *fin.*,  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$  *H*  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$ ; 63, n. 3, p. 64, l. 2,  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$  *H*  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$ ; 63, n. 3, p. 64d,  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$  (probably intended by Martin for *O*); hereafter resolutions of abbreviations in *H* will not be noted.

64, n. 1,  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$  *H*  $\text{ܡܚܠܝܬܐ}$  (in red).

<sup>1</sup> The writer would seem to want the last three verses of this example read in reverse order.

65, the numbers after the colon, pp. 65, 66, refer to lines of the Syriac text continuing *n.* 1 of *p.* 64; 65:2, *H* *af*: *af*; 65:4, *H* *ḡḡḡḡ*: *ḡḡḡḡ*; 65:4, *H* *ḡḡḡḡ*: *ḡḡḡḡ*; 65, *n. c.*, *H* *ḡḡḡḡ*: *ḡḡḡḡ*; 65:5, 7, *H* *ḡḡḡḡ* (but with plural adjectives); 65:6, *H om.* *ḡḡ*; 65:8, *H* *ḡḡḡḡ*: *ḡḡḡḡ*; 65:5-8, "Thirdly, (one must avoid the use of) short and long vowels, e.g., *šūšep(p)ā*, *ʾaypā*, *bas(s)īm*, *ḡsīm*; *tuk(k)ē*, *māsūkē*. Therefore, either let him take like vowels," etc.; *H fol.* 120b, *incip.* *ḡḡḡḡ*; (65:9); 65:10, *H om.* *ḡḡḡḡ*; 65:10, *H om.* *ḡḡḡḡ*; 65:13, *H* *ḡḡ* (1): *H* *ḡḡ*; 65:13, *H* *ḡḡḡḡ* (homoioioteuton); 65:13, *H* *ḡḡḡḡ*; 65:14, *H* *ḡḡḡḡ*.

66:1, *H* *ḡḡḡḡ*: *ḡḡḡḡ*; 66, *n. 1*, *H* *ḡḡḡḡ*; 66:2, *H* *ḡḡḡḡ*; 66:5, *H* *ḡḡḡḡ*: *ḡḡḡḡ*; 66, *n. 4* = *H* (probably text of *O*); 66:4/5, translate: "These, because doubled, destroy the essence of Aleph; Aleph preserves its full value, when doubled upon itself," i.e., when it serves as the starting- or turning-point of the syllable, as the examples show.

67:1, *H* *ḡḡḡḡ*: *ḡḡḡḡ*; *H fol.* 121a, *ḡḡḡḡ*, *incip.* *ḡḡḡḡ* (67:1 *fin.*); 67:2, *H* *ḡḡḡḡ*: *ḡḡḡḡ*; 67:3, *H* *ḡḡḡḡ*; 67:8, *H* *ḡḡḡḡ*: *ḡḡḡḡ*; 67:11, *H* *ḡḡḡḡ*; 67:12, *H* *ḡḡḡḡ*; 67:13, *H* *ḡḡḡḡ*: *ḡḡḡḡ*; 67:14, *H* *ḡḡḡḡ*: *ḡḡḡḡ*; 67:15, *H* *ḡḡḡḡ*: *ḡḡḡḡ*; 67:16, *H* *ḡḡḡḡ*: *ḡḡḡḡ*; 67:18, *H* *ḡḡḡḡ*: *ḡḡḡḡ*; *H fol.* 121 b, *incip.* *ḡḡḡḡ* (67:18).

Martin's "Appendix" is found in *H fol.* 49b (ḡḡ), *l.* 7 to 50b, *l.* 15. The collation follows:

68:1, *H* *ḡḡḡḡ*: *ḡḡḡḡ*; 68:5, *H* *ḡḡḡḡ*: *ḡḡḡḡ*; 68:6, *H* *ḡḡḡḡ*: *ḡḡḡḡ*; 68, *n. 3*, *H* = *L*; *H fol.* 50a, *ḡḡḡḡ*, *incip.* *ḡḡḡḡ*.

(68:11); 68:12,  $\text{לֹא־לֹא}$ : *H*  $\text{לֹא־לֹא}$ ; 68:13,  $\text{הַמִּיָּא}$  (1): *H*  $\text{הַמִּיָּא}$ ; 68, n. 7, *H*  $\text{[מַעֲלָא]}$ <sup>1</sup>  $\text{מַעֲלָא}$ , i.e., deleting the second; 68:14,  $\text{בְּיָתְרָא}$ : *H*  $\text{בְּיָתְרָא}$ .

69:1,  $\text{לֹא־לֹא}$ : *H*  $\text{לֹא־לֹא}$ ; 69:2,  $\text{לֹא־לֹא}$ : *H*  $\text{לֹא־לֹא}$ ; 69:3,  $\text{לֹא־לֹא}$ : *H*  $\text{לֹא־לֹא}$ ; 69:4,  $\text{לֹא־לֹא}$ : *H*  $\text{לֹא־לֹא}$ ; 69:5,  $\text{לֹא־לֹא}$ : *H*  $\text{לֹא־לֹא}$ ; 69:6,  $\text{לֹא־לֹא}$ : *H*  $\text{לֹא־לֹא}$ ; 69:7, *H*  $\text{לֹא־לֹא}$  (*sic!*); *H* fol. 50b, *incip.*  $\text{לֹא־לֹא}$  (69:7); 69:7, *H*  $\text{לֹא־לֹא}$  (*om.*); 69:9,  $\text{לֹא־לֹא}$ : *H*  $\text{לֹא־לֹא}$ ; 69:10,  $\text{לֹא־לֹא}$ : *H*  $\text{לֹא־לֹא}$ ; 69:12,  $\text{לֹא־לֹא}$  (*sic!*); 69, n. 5, *H*  $\text{לֹא־לֹא}$  *pro*  $\text{לֹא־לֹא}$ ; 69:18,  $\text{לֹא־לֹא}$ : *H*  $\text{לֹא־לֹא}$ ; 69:19, *H* without abbreviation.

In *H* follows a colophon of four lines; cf. p. 204.

<sup>1</sup> Brackets designate words expunged by the writer of the manuscript or his corrector.

# THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES :: ::

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

EDITORIAL: A QUARTER-CENTENNIAL ISSUE	217-218
A HALF-CENTURY OF BIBLICAL AND SEMITIC INVESTIGATION. <i>By Leroy Waterman</i>	219-229
THE PHYSICAL PROCESSES OF WRITING IN THE EARLY ORIENT AND THEIR RELATION TO THE ORIGIN OF THE ALPHABET. <i>By James H. Breasted</i>	230-249
SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE FINANCIAL IMPORTANCE OF THE TEMPLE IN THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON. <i>By Ira M. Price</i>	250-260
THE EFFECT OF THE DISRUPTION ON THE HEBREW THOUGHT OF GOD. <i>By J. M. Powis Smith</i>	261-269
OLD BABYLONIAN LETTERS FROM BISMYA. <i>By D. D. Luckenbill</i>	270-292
SEVERUS BAR SHAKKO "Poetics," PART II. <i>By Martin Sprengling</i>	293-308
SHORT NOTICES	309-311
Zimmern, Akkadische Fremdwörter als Beweis für Babylonischen Kultur- einfluss, <i>D. D. Luckenbill</i> .—Ungnad, Babylonian Letters of Hammurapi Period, <i>D. D. Luckenbill</i> .—Chiera, Legal and Administrative Documents from Nippur, chiefly from the Dynasties of Isin and Larsa. <i>D. D. Luckenbill</i> .	312
GENERAL INDEX	

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A QUARTER-CENTENNIAL ISSUE

This issue of the *Journal* appears a month earlier than usual, in order that it may take its place in the celebration of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the founding of the new University of Chicago. The *Journal* is but one of twelve supported by the University, without whose aid their publication would be impossible. It has seemed fitting, however, that the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* should make special recognition of this Quarter-Centennial occasion.

Thirty-two years ago, a new journal called *Hebraica*, was founded by the late President William Rainey Harper, at that time Professor of Hebrew and Cognate Languages in the Baptist Union Theological Seminary, at Morgan Park, Illinois. It was the first journal in any language to devote itself to the entire field of Semitic studies to the exclusion of all else. When its first editor became Professor of Semitic Languages in Yale University in 1886, the publication of *Hebraica* was transferred to the East. After Professor Harper became the first President of the new University of Chicago, the *Journal* came back to the West with him and was the first journal to be issued under the auspices of the University of Chicago Press. The first number to bear the imprint of the University Press was issued in October, 1890, at a date when the University had not yet opened its doors to students. But ownership was not vested in the University until January 24, 1893, on which day the Board of

Trustees voted to accept President Harper's proposal to transfer both *Hebraica* and the *Biblical World* to the University of Chicago.

In 1895, the old name *Hebraica* was changed to the name now borne by the *Journal*, the old name having proven too narrow in scope from the very beginning. President Harper remained at the head of the Editorial Board until his death on January 6, 1906.

Professor Robert Francis Harper succeeded his brother as editor and continued in that office until his death in August, 1914. In 1907, the Editorial Board was strengthened by the addition of a group of Associate Editors from other American universities, thus making the *Journal* more truly representative of American scholarship as a whole.

This anniversary issue is given mainly to the publication of articles by University of Chicago members of the Editorial Board. The only exception is the article by Professor Waterman, an alumnus of the Oriental Department of the University. His contribution served as an address, representing the Department of Oriental Languages and Literatures, delivered at a departmental conference held in connection with the Quarter-Centennial celebration. The address covers the work of a half-century because of the fact that the Divinity School of the University of Chicago celebrates the Semi-Centennial Anniversary of its founding on this occasion.

## A HALF-CENTURY OF BIBLICAL AND SEMITIC INVESTIGATION

BY LEROY WATERMAN  
University of Michigan

"We have thus far been, at the best, spectators of the battle that has raged on the continent of Europe. . . . The Providence of God now calls us to take part in the conflict. . . . We should prepare ourselves at once." These sentiments have nothing to do with the present war. They are the words of that great conservative, the late Charles Augustus Briggs, of Union Theological Seminary, when referring to the progress of Old Testament studies in the English-speaking world. In full, the passage reads: "We have thus far been, at the best, spectators of the battle that has raged on the continent of Europe over the biblical books. The Providence of God now calls us to take part in the conflict. Our Anglo-American scholars are but poorly equipped for the struggle. We should prepare ourselves at once."<sup>1</sup>

If these words may be taken as a fair index of the state of biblical study in England and America when they were written, in 1882, they apply with very much greater force to 1866. Indeed, we may describe the condition of biblical studies in the English-speaking world at that time as one of splendid isolation.

As late as 1862 the leading English churchmen, ably seconded by American divines, were proceeding upon the theory that the waters which cut off England from the Continent, and much more, of course, those that separated Europe from America, were a sufficient protection for peace-loving orthodoxy against any invasion of Teutonic higher criticism. Occasionally the more daring English theologians visited Germany and brought home specimens of higher critical fauna which were promptly mounted and put on exhibition as examples of strange and dangerous monsters from the "dark continent," while those who accomplished such feats were duly given high rank in a class with Nimrod.

<sup>1</sup> *Biblical Study*, pp. 212 f.

The Anglo-Saxon theologians managed this matter of the German critics with firmness and dispatch, but they failed to take corresponding precautions against the natives of South Africa. When therefore a great missionary of the Anglican church was made bishop of Natal, it became one of his first tasks to translate the Scriptures into the vernacular; and he had not proceeded beyond the story of the Flood when those trustful, simple-minded Zulus asked such frank and wondering questions about the reality of the accounts in Genesis that the bishop, being an honest man, felt obliged to reconsider the whole status of the Pentateuch, and to this end ordered sent out from Europe the critical apparatus of the leading biblical scholars on the Continent. The result was that in 1862 Colenso's book<sup>1</sup> appeared, and in this work there were presented in English dress the chief results of German higher criticism, plus a still more advanced contribution by an English bishop. This attack in the rear, via the heathen, was as effective as it was disconcerting. The English and American presses groaned with replies, but this hastily improvised defense was chiefly conspicuous for its defective marksmanship. It was, however, the best that could be done with the weapons at hand. Through this experience, then, it became evident at last to all thinking men that any supposed biblical isolation was in reality a groundless and misleading assumption. Nevertheless, twenty years were to elapse before Dr. Briggs's "call to preparedness" could be issued.

The status of Old Testament studies fifty years ago may be summarized in terms of Pentateuchal criticism. Continental scholarship had at that time reached a consensus of opinion that the Hexateuch was composed of four documents, and English and American scholars were unable to set aside the evidence.

From the very nature of the Occident, Semitic studies outside the Old Testament are limited in general interest to such as have a more or less direct bearing on biblical subjects. In this respect Assyriology from the start was without a rival, and still holds the main field; and there is a real sense in which 1866 marked an epoch, for it was the year in which Edward Hincks, devoted pioneer, brilliant decipherer, and coadjutor with Rawlinson, passed away. Oppert, Hincks, and

<sup>1</sup> *The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua Critically Examined.*

Rawlinson had made their joint translation, convincing the world that the key to the Babylonian literature had been found. The ideographic and polyphonous character of cuneiform had been demonstrated, and a beginning had been made on Sumerian. The search for Babylonian curios and works of art had resulted in the discovery of the imposing gateway to a new language; and the first dim outlines of a long-buried civilization had begun to arise from the mounds of Mesopotamia.

The decade 1866-76 was notable both in Old Testament and Assyrian research, and the advances made in each were mutually stimulating. In Old Testament study the decade was marked by the effort to determine the date and order of the documents, and particularly to settle upon the *Grundschrift*. An entirely new perspective of Israel's whole development was in the making, everything depending upon the order of the documents.<sup>1</sup> This order was first stated in a form to gain wide and lasting adherence by Wellhausen in 1876,<sup>2</sup> and the way was now open to bring the history of Israel into line with universal history.

In 1870 the growing interest in the archaeology of the Bible led to the founding of the Society of Biblical Archaeology. The influence of this society upon Semitic studies has been especially noteworthy, and among the first contributors to its *Transactions* appeared the name of George Smith, already rising to prominence. His discovery, in the British Museum in 1872, of the eleventh tablet of the Gilgamesh Epic, from which he soon deciphered unmistakable parallels to the story of the Flood in Genesis, marks an epoch. It was at this point that the mutually stimulating effects of the two disciplines first became manifest. It was one thing to have unearthed an unexplored area of human development; it was quite another to find this new record to be in some way directly bound up with the most venerable sacred literature of Christendom. Out of this connection the Old Testament was to gain a new perspective of at least three thousand years of political and religious background. It was not necessary that the full extent or the exact nature of the relation should

<sup>1</sup> Graf, *Die geschichtlichen Bücher des Alten Testaments* (1886); Kuenen, *Gottesdienst von Israel* (1869-70); Duhn, *Theologie der Propheten* (1869); Kayser, *Vorzilisches Buch der Urgeschichte* (1874); Reuss, *L'Histoire sainte et la Loi*.

<sup>2</sup> *Jahrbuch für Deutsche Theologie*.

be realized at first, in order to assure a new interest in all things pertaining to *Bibel und Babel*.

This new impetus found expression at once in fresh excavations, carried on by Smith himself, and these were to be an index of the new emphasis on excavation for nearly a generation. The clay tablets and inscriptions that hitherto had scarcely been considered as worthy of enumeration now began to be regarded as the chief objects of search; and hand in hand with the unearthing of tablets and the publication of texts went the scientific unfolding of the language, under the leadership, particularly, of Friedrich Delitzsch, scholars no longer relying chiefly on other Semitic languages for root meanings, but determining them for the most part from the usage in Assyrian itself. It was a significant coincidence that in 1876 the Old Testament began to be seen, for the first time, as an orderly development wrought into the newly discovered setting of a larger civilization. The work of the succeeding forty years has been but the verifying, deepening, and enlarging of that proposition, both in its terms and in their most varied aspects.

There were two sources that could cause new developments. The one consisted of material in the Old Testament itself that lay hidden beneath theological formalism and under defective lexicon and fluctuating textual tradition. Discoveries of this character have been many, some of them brilliant; and more are awaited. The other source depended on the recovery of fresh material from the sites of ancient civilizations that had influenced Israel; and the latter was basic, since it involved new facts that compelled attention. The story of the progress of Old Testament and Semitics from this point cannot omit some account of the gains of Semitic archaeology.

The fresh impetus that started with the discoveries of George Smith brought a vast increase of priceless treasures to the British Museum and the Louvre, and the same wave of interest reached America in 1884 and found expression in the Wolfe expedition. Sufficient materials had already been recovered to cause revolutionary changes, but it was only the beginning. In 1887-88 the Tel-el-Amarna tablets came to light, and their translation rang up the curtain on all Western Asia for the fourteenth century B.C. Here was an international postal service between Egypt and Syria-

Palestine, the Hittites, Cyprus, Mitanni, Assyria, and Babylonia, and an extensive diplomatic correspondence carried on between these governments, in cuneiform Babylonian as a *lingua franca*, showing in most intimate fashion the inner relations of the governments concerned, by acknowledged suzerainty, treaties, alliances, and mutual understandings, and revealing the whole area to have been, in reality, one great political complex.<sup>1</sup> This literature gave the first clear view of Palestine before Israel was in possession of the land, and showed it to be already in a relatively high state of civilization and also involved in the main stream of world-politics. It was the earliest political world-view to be obtained from any single body of ancient literature, and it was so full and suggestive that if there still remained those who would fain persuade themselves that Israel could continue to be studied in isolation, this discovery gave the deathblow to such fancies. It was also evident that Babylonian culture to some considerable extent dominated Western Asia as early as the fourteenth century B.C.

These splendid results led to new and extended efforts. In America the new interest crystallized in the Babylonian expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, which in three campaigns from 1888 to 1896 recovered over 31,000 tablets, besides other monuments.<sup>2</sup>

In 1894, at Abu Habba, the Turks for the first and only time ceased to lay hindrances in the way of excavation and for a brief season wielded the spade themselves, with gratifying results. From 1888 to 1891 the Berlin Oriental Committee carried on work near Antioch, that resulted in the recovery of the Zenjirli inscriptions, which furnished a new historical link between Assyria and Israel.

Thus far from the days of George Smith the search for written records overshadowed all else, but the progress of decipherment and historical reconstruction gradually made it clear that the exact provenance of a document was second only to the record itself. In the haste of the earlier excavating to get tablets with the least effort, partially excavated areas were frequently buried again with débris from new openings. The task of thorough excavation to

<sup>1</sup> Knudtzon, *Die el-Amarna Tafeln* (1908).

<sup>2</sup> Hilprecht, *Die Ausgrabungen der University of Pennsylvania*, etc.



determine historical perspective and architectural development had not yet been undertaken. The first site to be systematically cleared was that of Telloh, by the indefatigable Frenchman, DeSarzec, who labored upon the one mound for over twenty years.<sup>1</sup> The Germans had made unique contributions to the interpretation of the inscriptions, but they alone of the great modern nations had done almost no digging. The formation of the German Orient Society in 1898 marked the entrance of Germany into this field, and since that date their methods have become standard.<sup>2</sup> The new emphasis on architecture and exact plotting of ruins has as greatly increased the seriousness of excavation as it has enhanced the value of the results.

The expedition of the University of Chicago, which began work at the ancient city of Adab on Christmas Day, 1903, offered good promise of success, and for the brief space of five months during which work was actually carried on gave very encouraging results. The work was prematurely cut short, however, and here American participation in Babylonian excavation comes to an end.

Of all the nations engaged in this work probably the French have been most constantly in the field. To their credit must be placed the finest early Sumerian collection; but above all it was their good fortune to discover at Susa the great stele of Hammurapi's Code of law.<sup>3</sup> This marks the third great normative Babylonian contribution to the interpretation of the Old Testament. Its exact relation to the Mosaic legislation, coming centuries later, is still an intricate problem,<sup>4</sup> but in any case, as a result, the study of Israelite law has taken on new aspects of the highest importance.

The influence of Babylonian discoveries has stimulated activity in many other fields and it was inevitable that Palestine's turn should come sooner or later. The excavations of Macalister at Gezer, of Sellin at Jericho, and of Reisner at Samaria represent the best type of work. No such spectacular results have been obtained from this field; as has been well said, the fault is not with the excavators but with the people of Canaan. They did not do the spectacular

<sup>1</sup> Hilprecht, *The Excavations in Assyria and Babylonia*, pp. 216 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Koldewey, *Das wiedererstandene Babylon*, etc.; Andrae in *MDOG*, 1909, 1913.

<sup>3</sup> R. F. Harper, *The Code of Hammurabi*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Johns, *The Relations between the Laws of Babylonia and the Laws of the Hebrew Peoples*.

things to be recorded. This is not, however, to minimize the significance of these labors.

This survey would in no sense be complete without mention of the Aramaic papyri discovered at Assouan and Elephantine.<sup>1</sup> Twice Semitic archaeology has been indebted to Upper Egypt for most important items. Thanks to these documents, our conception of the Jewish community in the fifth century B.C. is no longer confined to the work of Ezra and Nehemiah. We are now able to see another social and religious center of Israelite influence at work, independent of Deuteronomy or the Priestly Code.

The progress of Old Testament interpretation and of wider Semitic studies, based on the results of excavation, has not always been direct, nor have the two branches always been mutually supporting. Too often archaeology has been asked to play the rôle of an apologist. Semitic archaeology started on its career with the serious handicap of being supposed to confirm whatever views one might hold concerning the Bible and the universe, and it has not yet entirely freed itself from this disadvantage. There is today a science of archaeology; its business is to gather up the physical remains of the past and from them restore as far as possible a view of the course of past development. There is no scientific application of such data to biblical interpretation apart from the work of the critical historian. To say this is to set aside a very large mass of apologetics that is wont to pose as archaeology. But Semitic archaeology itself has not been without its false alarms and mistaken trails that have led no whither, and that have clouded the main issue. The unfortunate Sumerian controversy,<sup>2</sup> now happily closed, in which one man was able to hold the field against the rest of Semitic scholarship for twenty-five years, shows a very halting progress, due in large measure to extravagant claims made on both sides on the basis of insufficient data. The keen search for archaeological clues has developed, in some instances, oversensitive and uncontrolled imaginations, that have resulted in such confusion of fact and fancy as the North Arabian mirage of Egypt—that rare phenomenon of archaeological weather. The theory of that ghostly but ubiquitous tribe of

<sup>1</sup> Sachau, *Aramäisches Papyrus u. Ostraka*, etc. (1911).

<sup>2</sup> Rogers, *History I*, 254 f.

Jerahmeel, supposed to lurk under every rubbish-heap of Hebrew consonants, that ability to discern in many an otherwise good Hebrew form of respectable lineage only a Jerahmeelite wolf in Hebrew clothing, is another example of distorted vision confused with a high degree of scientific acumen. The greatest obsession in Semitic studies is probably included in the cult of the pan-Babylonian astral theorists, which would reduce all early Semitic history, literature, and religion to Babylonian astrological formulae. It is an astonishing example of the tangential reasoning that may arise from the usually close-knit, severely logical, German thinking. It is to be observed that its chief advocates have not been first of all Old Testament scholars, but almost invariably have made their approach by way of late Babylonian astrology; and, as one result, they have been able to see in the Old Testament only a shifting kaleidoscope with which to entertain the imagination.

Such aberrations, in spite of evident disadvantages, have not been an unmixed evil. Their retardation of progress has served to check a too-hasty advance, and their vagaries have brought into stronger relief the actual problems at hand.

The positive gains from Semitic archaeology may be evaluated, in relation to the Old Testament, first of all in terms of Pénateuchal criticism. The documentary hypothesis which makes the priestly legislation the latest element has met with no rebuff from archaeology; at the same time certain items unmistakably confirm it, such as the variant Babylonian accounts of the Creation and the Flood which correspond to the biblical; or the archaeology of Palestine, that leaves no room for the Deuteronomic or priestly accounts of the "conquest"; or the excavations at Gezer and Taanach, Levitical cities according to P, which show that the priestly writer was unaware of the early religious history of those cities.

There has been no serious attack on the documentary hypothesis in a generation. Dahse, in his recent pericope theory,<sup>1</sup> has indeed shown how the preliminary criterion of the divine names in Genesis might be scientifically challenged, but, in spite of interesting facts adduced, he has failed even to maintain his thesis, as the admirable criticisms of Skinner have shown.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Textkritische Materialien zur Hexateuchfrage.*

<sup>2</sup> *Expositor* (1913).

Textual criticism, through the merited recognition and use of the versions, has made important gains, recorded in improved lexicons, and has received popular recognition, to a certain extent, in the English and American Revised Versions.

The greatest religious advance contributed by Old Testament study has come as an indirect result of the Pentateuchal analysis, namely, the recovery and restoration of the prophetic religion to its proper place as the creator and not the product of the law, thus restoring the moral perspective of Israel's entire religious development.

Finally, English and American scholarship has responded to Dr. Briggs's call for biblical preparedness and efficient religious leadership, not indeed against German teaching, nor yet as its slavish imitator, but in collaboration with the best thought of the Continent. The leadership in America in Old Testament Semitics today rests in the hand of no man, and perhaps in no institution; but the commanding position which enlightened biblical leadership enjoys in this country is due in no small measure to the impetus given it by one Old Testament scholar. Sound learning, religious devotion, and the teacher instinct were an essential part of this contribution, but they do not account for the result. That can only be explained by the genius that inspires and that communicates its own spirit like contagion. The preparation for this result came when W. R. Harper accepted the call to Morgan Park in 1879 and decided to devote his life to Old Testament and Semitics. Within five years he had laid the foundations of the present American Institute of Sacred Literature, the *Biblical World*, and the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*. Of the first it has been said that perhaps more than any other single agency it has had influence in extending a knowledge of the Bible. The two journals were speedily to acquire national and even international importance. These far-reaching organized efforts, coupled with his national rejuvenation of Hebrew and doubly accentuated by his position as organizer and president of the University of Chicago, in which exacting and absorbing office he, nevertheless, continued to be the same inspiring teacher and investigator, have wrought his spirit into the very marrow of much of the higher religious leadership of this country, and have made his

multiple life-work also one of the deeply fascinating chapters in the story of fifty years of Old Testament progress.<sup>1</sup>

What of the future? The world has learned more of the Old Testament and wider Semitics in the past fifty years than had been previously gained in nineteen centuries. Who could have foretold the revelations of this period? It is unnecessary, however, to prophesy. There still remain unfinished tasks greater than those that have been accomplished.

In the first place, all the excavating in Babylonia, so far, is but a pin-scratch compared to all that still lies untouched. Systematic excavation in Palestine has just been well begun. The lacunae in Babylonian and Palestinian history are deep and widespread. The social and commercial history of Babylonia remains to be written. Present reconstructions are only tentative for whole areas. The secret of Sumerian civilization awaits its proper linking with the deeper past.

The excavations at Boghaz Kõi have at last assured a scientific solution of the Hittite problem. Dr. Friedrich Hrozný has established for himself the right to be known as the decipherer of the Hittite language.<sup>2</sup> With this key we shall now be able to enter into many hitherto closed areas of Oriental history.

Every day we are learning more of Egypt, Israel's next-door neighbor, and with that knowledge the problems of the patriarchs, the Exodus, Moses, and the settlement of Canaan are closely bound up. The best Old Testament data on all these points are of such variable and shifting character that possible variations of from two to four hundred years have to be admitted,<sup>3</sup> and it is difficult to see how that historical definiteness can be gained apart from new inscriptional material, most naturally of Egyptian origin. With a little real light on the Hyksos, for example, or if we knew exactly where Israel of the Merneptah stele was, whether in Palestine, as is commonly assumed, or only in the neighborhood, many things

<sup>1</sup> Francis Brown, "President Harper and Old Testament Studies," *AJSL*, XXII.

<sup>2</sup> See his preliminary announcement in *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, December, 1915, together with the added words of endorsement by Otto Weber and Eduard Meyer, in the same issue.

<sup>3</sup> J. M. P. Smith, "Some Problems in the Early History of Hebrew Religion," *AJSL* (January, 1916).

would be surer. Much more than the small modicum that here might be decisive may assuredly be expected.

Textual criticism has unwound a few items from the LXX tangle. The whole skein awaits unraveling, even if it be, in the end, to show how little it can yield.

The languages of the Old Testament await a more rapid and efficient means of mastery, that shall not be inconsistent with curriculum requirements, except for a handful of special students. The text back of our present defective *textus receptus* must be diligently and patiently sought by every means, especially by a thorough sifting of all the treasures of Jewish tradition, a task for which Ehrlich's great work points the way.<sup>1</sup> The apocryphal literature must be more fully restored to its true place as the epilogue of the Old and the prologue of the New Covenant.

The religion of the Old Testament must prepare more fully to take its place in the discipline of the history of religion, laying aside all pleas for its unnatural character, and from this viewpoint seek new light for a variety of otherwise meaningless passages and wise obscurities of exegesis. The religion of the older prophets demands to be studied in its deeper relations to the prophet of Nazareth as the best and truest unified basis for the religion of the future.

<sup>1</sup> *Randglossen zur hebräischen Bibel*, etc.

# THE PHYSICAL PROCESSES OF WRITING IN THE EARLY ORIENT AND THEIR RELATION TO THE ORIGIN OF THE ALPHABET<sup>1</sup>

BY JAMES HENRY BREASTED  
University of Chicago

The investigation of the origin of our alphabet, always a subject of great interest, has been stimulated in recent years by the discovery of writing in Crete, and by the claim of Sir Arthur Evans that this Aegean writing was the source of the so-called Phoenician alphabet. In the midst of the present writer's work on the subject, in all too brief intervals snatched from other pressing duties, the trend of his own results has meantime received unexpected confirmation from the remarkable essay<sup>2</sup> of Dr. Alan H. Gardiner revealing the existence of a hitherto unknown script of Egyptian origin in Sinai, which may have been a form of the Proto-Semitic script, posited by Praetorius as the probable ancestor of both the Phoenician and South Semitic alphabets. At the same time the thoughtful remarks of Schaefer,<sup>3</sup> in a discussion of the reasons for the vowelless character of the Phoenician alphabet, have likewise lent further support to the author's conviction that the old and now widely rejected hypothesis of an Egyptian origin of the alphabet commonly called Phoenician must be carefully re-examined.

One of the neglected aspects of the entire problem has been its connection with the related question of the physical process and material equipment of writing in the Near East. This subject has bearing, and important bearing, on the whole question of the influence of any given system of writing in the eastern Mediterranean. The present article, written under unusual pressure of other duties, makes

<sup>1</sup> This discussion was presented at the New York meeting of the American Oriental Society in April, 1915.

<sup>2</sup> Alan H. Gardiner, "The Egyptian Origin of the Semitic Alphabet," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, III, Part I (January, 1916). It is accompanied by some additional observations by A. E. Cowley, "The Origin of the Semitic Alphabet."

<sup>3</sup> H. Schaefer, "Die Vokallösigkeit des phoenicischen Alphabets," *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, LII (1915), 95-98. I have not seen the article reviewing recent theories by A. Reinach, *Revue Epigraph.*, N.S., II (1914), 130-55.

no pretense to completeness, but may perhaps serve to clear up some of the current misunderstandings, and to establish the more fundamental points, in what may be called the archaeology of early oriental writing methods and their equipment.

An examination of the civilizations of the Near East shows clearly that (excluding monumental documents) there were two physical processes of writing in the eastern Mediterranean world. One, which grew up on the Nile, consisted in applying a colored fluid to a vegetable membrane; the other, which arose in the Tigris-Euphrates world, incised or impressed its signs on a yielding or plastic surface which later hardened. Both of these methods reached the classical world: in the wax tablet for the Greek or Roman gentleman's memoranda, and in the pen, ink, and paper (papyrus) which have descended to our own day. The early geographical line to be drawn between these two methods of writing may be indicated in the shortest terms by saying that the practice of incision on a plastic surface was Asiatic; the process employing pen, ink, and vegetable paper was Egyptian. It is important at this point to discern what we can of the interpenetration geographically and culturally speaking of these two methods of writing. This can best be done by a study of the relief monuments of the countries concerned. From these we can determine many questions regarding the physical process and the material equipment employed by the scribes of the early oriental world, beginning with Egypt. In order to bring together the Egyptian and Asiatic documents it will be necessary to state many facts of common knowledge among Egyptologists. On the other hand, the Asiatic reliefs seem to have been left entirely unstudied.

We shall omit all discussion of the origin and manufacture of papyrus paper,<sup>1</sup> and turn at once to its use. It was already in common use on the Nile in the fourth millennium B.C. In the mastaba reliefs of the Old Kingdom (2980-2475 B.C.) we have scores of relief pictures of the scribe at his task. For the most part he stands (Fig. 1) with a sheet of papyrus supported only on his left hand, holding the reed pen with the right

<sup>1</sup> See the brief but fundamental statement on this subject in G. Moeller, *Hieratische Palaeographie*, I, 4-7.



hand. It is interesting to notice that this method of holding paper for writing, without any broad surface to support it, is still common in the East and may be seen almost anywhere on the streets in the native quarters of Cairo and Damascus. A seated scribe taking protracted dictation might spread his roll upon his

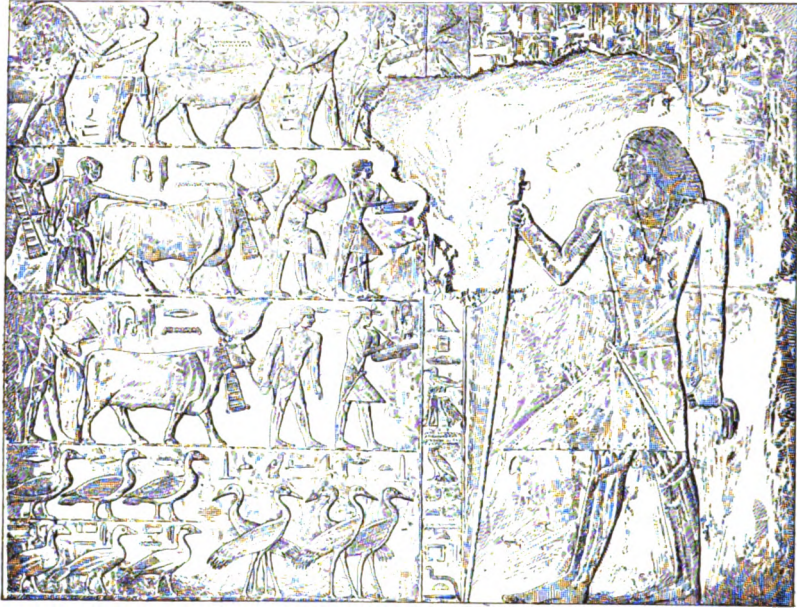


FIG. 1.—EGYPTIAN SCRIBES WRITING IN THE PRESENCE OF THEIR SUPERIOR

Three scribes stand before the noble, their chief, and keep count of the cattle which are being led up for inspection and numbering. Each of the writers supports a sheet of papyrus paper on the left hand as he holds the pen and writes with the right. Notice two pens, one for black ink and one for red, behind the ear of one scribe. Scene from a mastaba relief of the twenty-seventh or twenty-eighth century B.C., now in the Berlin Museum, with head of the noble restored from another relief now in the tomb of Ti at Sakkara, Egypt. The drawing was made for the author's *Ancient History* (now in press), used here by kind permission of Ginn & Co.

knees, as the famous scribal statues of the Old Kingdom do (Fig. 2). The mere weight of a large roll might necessitate such support. Likewise a scribe whose work demanded the use of many records for reference, like the census-sheets and tax-rolls of the government, might squat before a small desk on which his records were piled up, tied up in neat bundles like a group of college diplomas (Fig. 3).

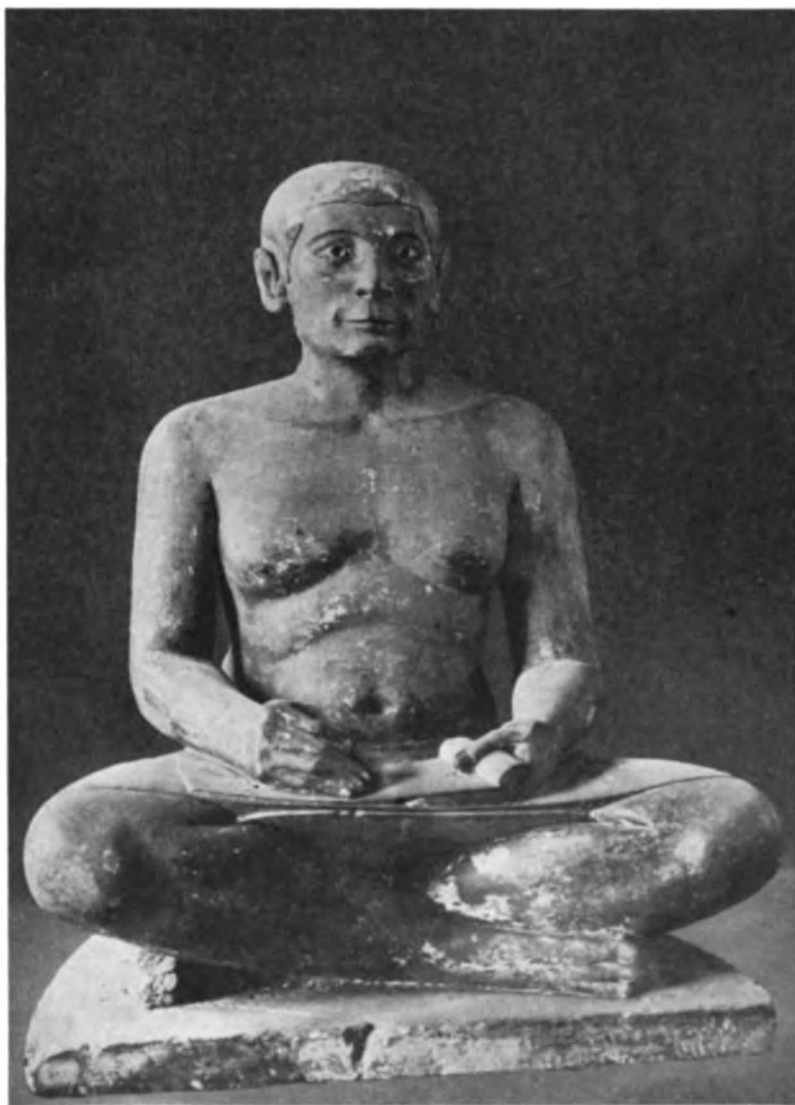


FIG. 2. FAMOUS LOUVRE STATUE OF A SITTING SCRIBE.

In protracted dictation or when it was necessary to hold a heavy roll, the Egyptian scribe might sit and spread his papyrus on his knees. This was not the normal or most common position. Compare Figs. 1, 3, and 4.

Sitting thus the scribe might write with his sheet supported on the desk, though his clerks squatting all around him (Fig. 3) do not even make use of the knee to support the paper, but hold it with only the outstretched left hand beneath it. Similarly the goddess

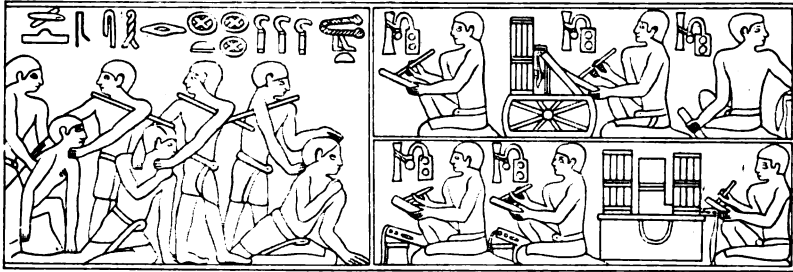


FIG. 3.—A GROUP OF EGYPTIAN TAX-COLLECTING SCRIBES IN THE OLD KINGDOM

The two superior officials with desks to some extent use the support of the desk for the papyrus. The others, though not standing, do not even lay the papyrus on the knee. This is the normal position. Relief scene from the tomb of Ti at Sakkara, Egypt, twenty-seventh century B.C. Drawing used here by permission of Ginn & Co.

of writing in a temple relief of the same age, though she is seated, extends the paper before her in the left hand (Fig. 4). It is evident that this was the normal position of the Egyptian scribe, whenever he was not obliged to hold a heavy roll. In ordinary business where a single sheet of paper was involved it was regularly supported upon the left hand. This peculiar, because inconvenient, practice is important to note. We shall find it later in Asia.

The constant presence of the clerk and scribe at all sorts of places and times, even as early as the Old Kingdom, required a convenient arrangement of his writing outfit. We often see this secretarial outfit depicted in the mastaba reliefs, in two forms: an earlier form which became the hieroglyphic sign for "writing," "to write," and "scribe," and a later form which gained wide currency in the Near East. The scribe needed for his work: his reed pens, a protecting case for these, a jar of water, and a little wooden palette for mixing his ink. In the earliest sculptures depicting this outfit all of these articles are easily identified with the exception of the case for the pens. The wonderful carved panels of Hesire, an Egyptian noble of the thirtieth century B.C. (Figs. 5 and 6), display him several times with his writing outfit. Sometimes he carried it slung over

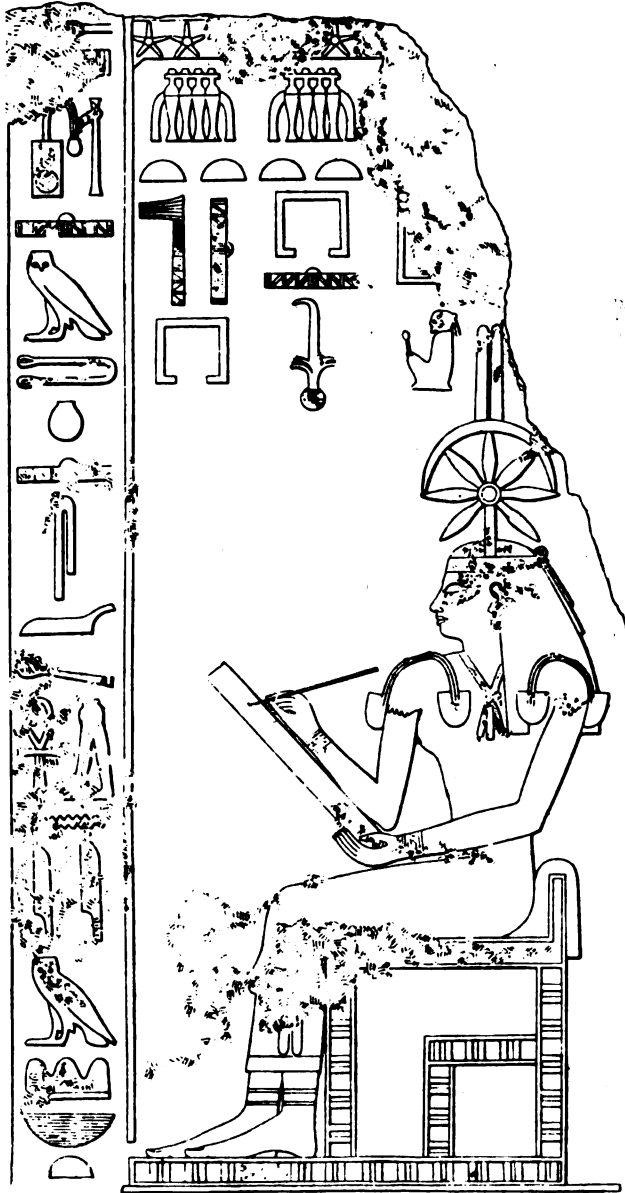


FIG. 4.—THE EGYPTIAN GODDESS OF WRITING, FROM AN OLD KINGDOM TEMPLE RELIEF

The goddess (called Ss't), although seated, holds the papyrus paper in the left hand and writes upon it without other support beneath it. The relief is from the pyramid temple of Sahure (twenty-eighth century B.C.) at Abusir, as published by Borchardt, *Grabdenkmal des Königs Sa'hurê*, Tafel 1).

his shoulder (Fig. 5). For this purpose its various parts were fastened together by a cord. The little water jar hanging at the back



FIGS. 5 AND 6.—HESIRE, AN EGYPTIAN NOBLE OF THE THIRTIETH CENTURY B.C., WITH WRITING OUTFIT

In Fig. 5 the noble sits with his writing outfit hanging over his right shoulder, the palette with the two receptacles for black and red ink in front and the water jar behind. The way in which these parts are strung together is shown in the hieroglyph for "scribe" in the inscription over the noble's head. Wooden panel of the Third Dynasty in the Cairo Museum. In Fig. 6 Hesire carries his writing outfit in the left hand.

of the shoulder and the small rectangular palette with two circular recesses for mixing ink are easily recognized. The cylindrical stick beside the jar at the back of the shoulder is probably hollow for

containing the pens, and closed with a cap at the top, of which there seems to be traces in the photograph. I have never examined the original on this point. At other times the noble carried his writing outfit in his left hand, along with his staff (Fig. 6). All the parts shown hanging over the shoulder are here clearly recognizable in the noble's hand. This older form of the pen-and-ink scribe's outfit, as we have intimated, was the one which became the hieroglyphic sign for "scribe," "writing," and the like. The sign will be recognized over each of the scribes in Fig. 3, where it designates the title "scribe." All the parts shown in Figs. 5 and 6, the water jar, the palette with two circular recesses, and the cylindrical pen case (?), will be easily recognized.

In the use of this outfit the scribe made his own ink, mixing soot or lampblack with an aqueous solution of vegetable gum, which kept the insoluble black in suspension. This was done in one of the circular recesses shown on the little palette, and the pen was replenished from there. In the other recess the scribe produced red ink in the same way, only using a red iron oxide instead of black. It was for this reason that we so often see the scribe with two pens behind his ear, one for the red and the other for the black ink. The red was used for the introductory words of a paragraph and it was from this custom, as is well known, that the manuscripts of Europe received the so-called "rubric," which has passed over into modern typographical usage. In Africa the influence of this ancient writing outfit of five thousand years ago is still observable in a native West African (Senegalese) writing equipment now in the Commercial Museum of Philadelphia (Fig. 7).

This outfit, however, was early improved by the Egyptian scribes by combining the palette and the pen case into one piece. The cylindrical pen case disappeared, and the small palette block, with the two circular recesses, was lengthened to furnish room for the pens. While no example of the older form of writing outfit has survived, this later form has often been found in tombs of the Empire and later. One example, indeed, dating from the Old Kingdom, was found by Petrie. An example in Haskell Oriental Museum shows the remains of the black and red ink just as they were mixed by the scribe for the last time. The specimen in Fig. 8, from the Berlin

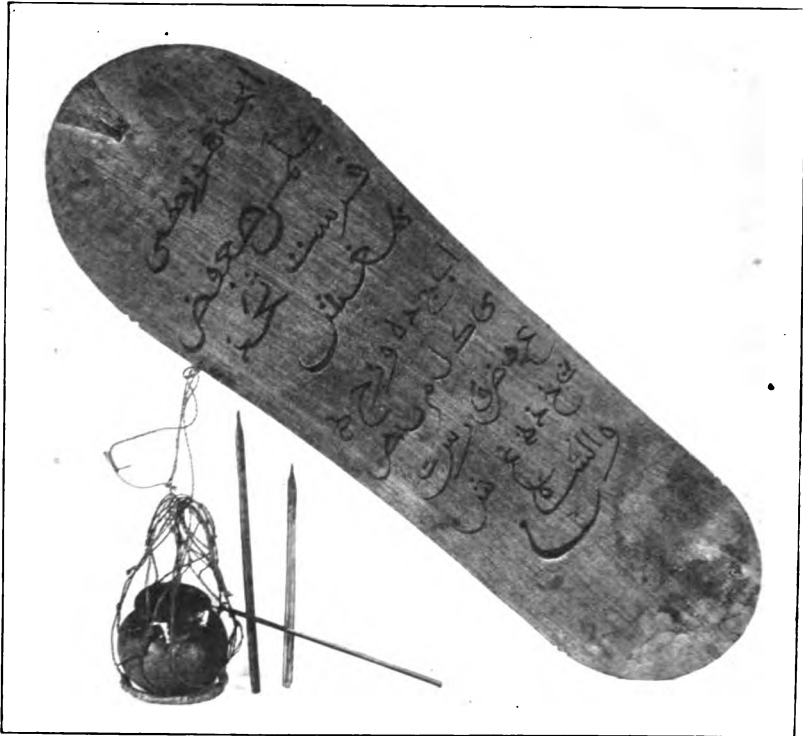


FIG. 7.—WRITING OUTFIT OF A WEST AFRICAN (SENEGALESE) NATIVE

The wooden palette and jar are strung together just like the early Egyptian outfit (Figs. 5 and 6). Note also the reed pens. Now in the Philadelphia Commercial Museum, to the kindness of whose secretary, Dr. Wilfred H. Schoff, the author is indebted for this photograph (see *Annual Rep. Philadelphia Commercial Museum*, 1914).

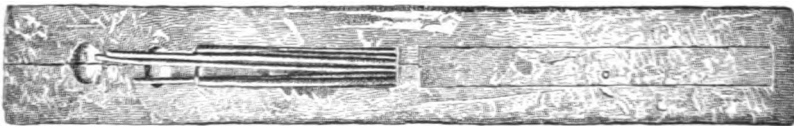


FIG. 8.—THE LATER WRITING OUTFIT OF THE EGYPTIAN SCRIBE

At the left end we observe the two receptacles where the black ink and red ink were prepared, making the outfit a kind of ink palette. The rest of it is a case for the carrying and protection of the fragile reed pens, which we see projecting from the opening. The whole is of wood and is now in the Berlin Museum. Drawing made from a photograph and available here by the kindness of Ginn & Co.

collection, is a good example of the typical equipment, with the reed pens sticking out of the case ready for the scribe's use. We often see this outfit, commonly called by Egyptologists a scribe's palette (*Schreibzeug* or *Schreibgerät*), depicted in the mastaba reliefs (see Fig. 9), where a scribe stands at the left with a pen case under his arm. This later writing outfit seems to have dispensed with the jar of water, which was no longer carried about with the scribe. In Fig. 3 we see the new palette and pen case propped up for easy

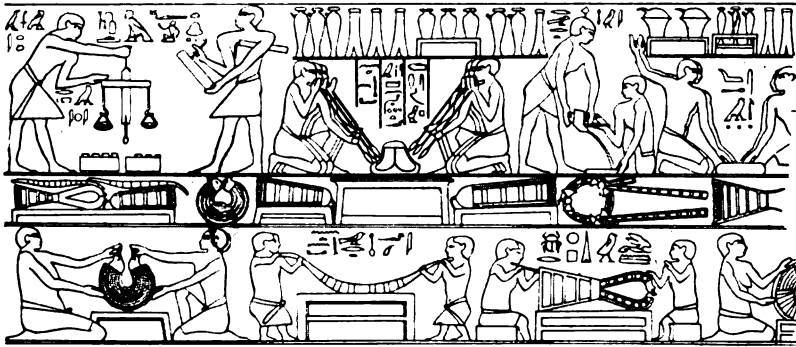


FIG. 9.—A GOLDSMITH'S SCRIBE KEEPING THE ACCOUNTS AND HOLDING UNDER HIS LEFT ARM A WRITING OUTFIT LIKE THAT IN FIG. 8

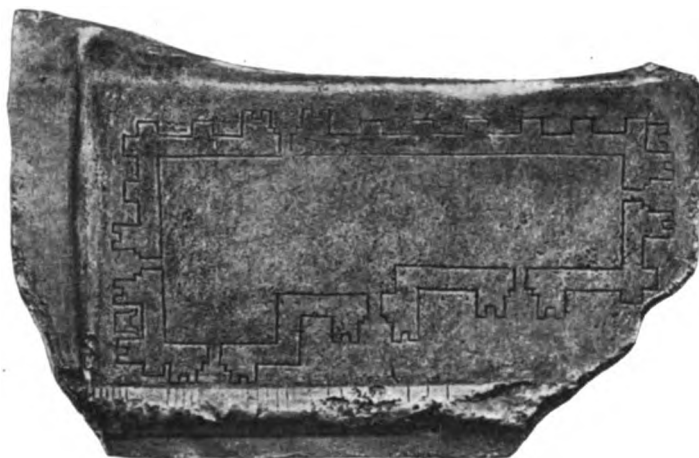
The goldsmith weighs out precious stones in the upper left-hand corner, and the scribe standing before him makes note of the amounts. A mastaba relief scene of the Old Kingdom from a drawing kindly loaned by Ginn & Co.

access to the ink, upon a small jar, which we notice before each of the two scribes in the lower row at the left of the desk.

An examination of these surviving pens and of the writing which they did shows that they were almost as much brush as pen. Perhaps by chewing the end of his pen the scribe softened the fibers of the reed until they loosened and separated, forming a soft tuft like the end of a modern painter's camel's-hair pencil, when it has been greatly shortened by wear. With this soft tip the scribe almost painted his signs on the papyrus. It was only when incoming parchment offered a very hard writing surface that our sharp-pointed split pen came into use. The brush pen just described produced very different writing from the fine strokes of the later sharp-pointed pen. We shall later find the work of the brush pen in Asia.



A



B

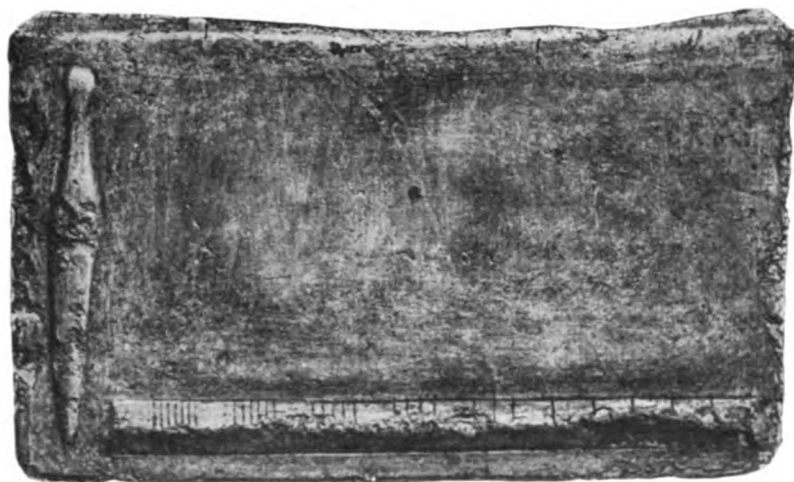


FIG. 10.—BABYLONIAN STYLUSES SCULPTURED ON STATUES OF GUDEA

Spread out on the knees of the statue is the ground plan of a building (omitted on one statue) accompanied by a cubit graduated rule and an instrument at one end, thought to be a stylus, for writing cuneiform. From statues of diorite of the twenty-fifth century B.C., found at Lagash; here photographed from De Sarzec, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, Pl. 15.

We are now prepared to examine the materials and methods of writing discernible in Western Asia, chiefly on the basis of the relief sculptures, which unfortunately are not as plentiful as in Egypt. It is particularly in the early Babylonian period that we feel the lack of such guidance. The well-known Gudea statue with the building plan on the knees displays lying at one end of the plan an elongated instrument which has been thought to be a stylus, with which the Sumerian scribe wrote his clay tablet documents (Fig. 10). This does not seem to be certain. A careful study of the Asiatic system of incising the signs on a soft clay surface was made by Professor A. T. Clay, who secured accurate measurements of the largest angle of the wedges. These measurements showed that the stylus tip applied to the clay was regularly square.<sup>1</sup> Another study of the question was made by the lamented Messerschmidt,<sup>2</sup> who showed, by an examination of the clay tablets themselves, that the individual wedges of cuneiform writing were produced by a stylus cut from a river reed and given a square tip, which, when applied at an oblique angle to the surface of the clay, produced the wedge as an impression of one corner of the square tip.<sup>3</sup>

It is not until the age of the Assyrian Empire that the reliefs of Western Asia reveal to us the scribe in the act of writing on a clay tablet. The earliest such scene known to me is a relief of the reign of Tiglath-pileser IV (Fig. 11), depicting a scribe in the act of recording the plunder of a captured city. At the left is an official reading from a tablet, while before him stands a scribe with a thick clay tablet supported on the left hand. He has paused a moment in his writing, and raises his right hand with the stylus poised between the thumb and the palm of the hand, the fingers being stretched straight out. In such a pause the scribe might lift the stylus, grasped between the thumb and the third and fourth fingers, as also in Fig. 12. But in this posture he is more nearly ready to write. Notice that the tablet is held at an angle of about forty-five

<sup>1</sup> See Clay, *Documents from the Temple Archives of Nippur*, Philadelphia, 1906, pp. 17-20.

<sup>2</sup> L. Messerschmidt, in the *Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung*.

<sup>3</sup> Professor Clay has recently stated (*Geographical Magazine*, April, 1916) that the tip of the stylus was three-cornered, which I take it must therefore have been a second form of tip. The upper end of the stylus was sometimes round, with which circular impressions might be made if necessary.

degrees, and the stylus, which is practically vertical, will therefore be applied at a sharply oblique angle, bringing one corner of the square tip to bear on the surface of the clay, just as Clay and Messerschmidt concluded from their examination of the actual tablets themselves. I am not aware that they ever examined the reliefs in their study of the archaeology of cuneiform writing.



FIG. 11.—ASSYRIAN RELIEF OF THE EIGHTH CENTURY B.C., SHOWING TWO SCRIBES TAKING DICTATION

Before an officer reading from a tablet appears a scribe who has lifted his stylus from the tablet as he pauses in his writing. Behind is a second scribe writing with a pen on papyrus (see p. 245). Drawn from a relief of the reign of Tiglath-pileser IV (Patterson-Kleinmann, 88/89 = Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, I, 58). Drawing available by the kindness of Ginn & Co.

When the scribe actually applied the stylus to the clay, he bent all his fingers and held the stylus in the closed fist (see Fig. 13). This remarkable manner of holding the stylus, extraordinary as it may seem, is the normal one, as an examination of all the relief material shows. Indeed, this traditional position of the hand was likewise inherited by the Greeks from the Orient, and Greek scribes

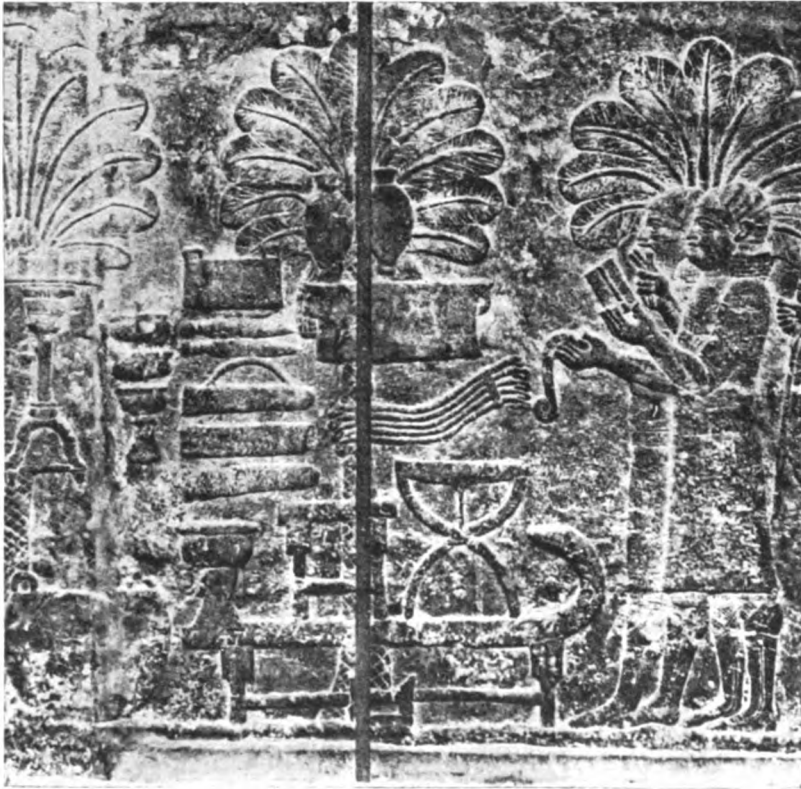


FIG. 12.—ASSYRIAN RELIEF OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY B.C., SHOWING TWO SCRIBES TAKING DICTATION

A large pile of plundered furniture brought in by troops from the left is being inventoried by two scribes standing at the right. The nearer scribe holds a clay tablet of two columns in the left hand, with his stylus held between thumb and two fingers of the right hand. The further scribe holds a roll of papyrus on the left hand, but his pen is not shown. Relief from the palace of Sennacherib (Layard, II, 36 = Patterson, *Palace of Sennacherib*, 55/56).

when writing upon wax tablets still maintained this posture.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, Unger calls attention to the fact that even the vase-painter in Greece held his pencil in this way.<sup>2</sup>

We now know the positions assumed by the scribes of the early Orient in practicing the two different methods of writing, first with

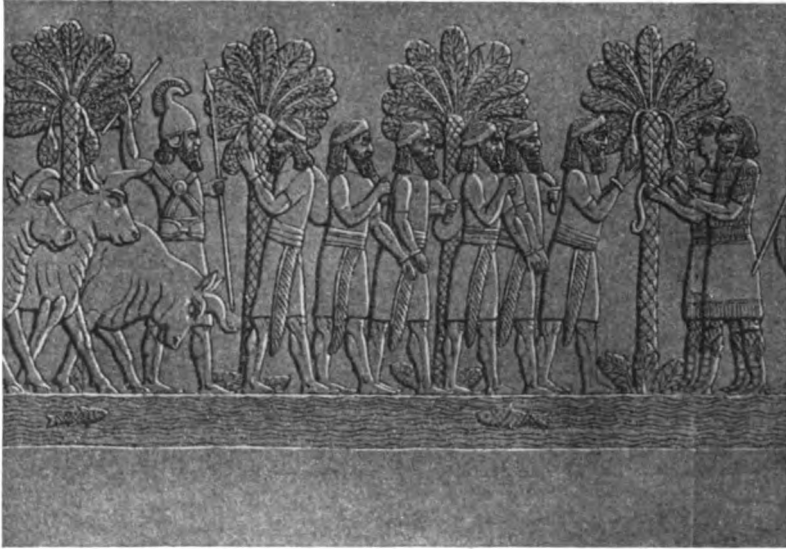


FIG. 13.—ASSYRIAN RELIEF OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY B.C., SHOWING TWO SCRIBES TAKING DICTATION

Assyrian officers coming in from the left bring up cattle and other plunder, which are being inventoried by two scribes standing at the right. The nearer, with clay tablet held in the left hand, writes with a stylus grasped in the closed right fist, with the stylus held vertically. The further scribe supports a sheet of papyrus on the left hand and writes with pen, exactly as does the Egyptian scribe in Figs. 1, 9, and others. Relief from the palace of Sennacherib (Layard, II, 26 = Patterson, *Palace*, 52, lower row).

pen and ink on papyrus; secondly, with the stylus on soft clay. When did the first method begin to displace the second, as we know it finally did in Asia? When did the pen invade the territory of the stylus? To be sure, in the days of widespread Babylonian commerce the stylus invaded the territory of the pen, and in intercourse

<sup>1</sup> See Furtwaengler, *Mittheilungen des Archäologischen Instituts*, VI (1881), 174 f.; Studniczka, *ibid.*, XI (1886), 359 f., Tafel IX, 5. See Eckhard Unger, *Zum Bronzefor von Balawat*, Leipzig, 1912, p. 51; Unger seems unaware that the evidence for such a posture of the ancient Assyrian scribe in writing with the stylus is quite unequivocal.

<sup>2</sup> Essay cited in preceding note.

with Asia the clay tablet was not uncommon in Egypt after 1400 B.C., in the so-called Amarna age. This interpenetration went on in both directions for a time, but after the fourteenth century B.C. the stylus was to yield to the pen. By the end of the twelfth century, papyrus paper was being imported into the Phoenician cities, as is shown by the report of Wenamon, when the king of Byblos was glad to receive a consignment of five hundred rolls of papyrus.<sup>1</sup> This event occurred at the very time when the alphabet which we call Phoenician was coming into use in Syria, whence it was carried far and wide by the Aramean merchants. Indeed, as is now well known, the Arameans were so common that Aramaic scribes were actually required in Assyrian administration. Aramaic scribes appear among the officials of Assurbanipal, and Aramaic secretaries are commonly mentioned in Assyrian contracts,<sup>2</sup> so that Aramaic dockets were finally placed on clay-tablet documents.

Under these circumstances we can understand why it is that with each of the cuneiform scribes whom we have seen writing on their clay tablets (Figs. 11, 12, 13), there appears another scribe using an entirely different equipment. This second scribe carries a roll or sheet of papyrus supported on his left hand. In some of the reliefs it shows its flexible character by the spiral roll which curls up at the overhanging end. On this material the scribe writes with a pen, for a comparison with the Egyptian sculptures above noticed makes it perfectly clear what physical method of writing is here employed in Western Asia. The pen has here invaded the territory of the stylus in the eighth century B.C. The occasional presence of a second scribe using pen, ink, and paper alongside the cuneiform scribe with his clay tablet is of far-reaching importance when we note the further fact that, in the sculptures of the Assyrian Empire, where the cuneiform scribe appears, *the penman is practically never absent*. In the Assyrian palace reliefs in scenes where the spoil of the captured cities or the severed heads of the slain are being brought up and counted, the scribal accountant is very commonly depicted making a record of the numbers. In the reliefs of Tiglath-pileser IV, Sargon, and Sennacherib, I find no less than seventeen such

<sup>1</sup> Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, IV, par. 582.

<sup>2</sup> See Maximilian Streck, *Klio*, VI (1906), 185-225, especially p. 221.

scenes, and I have no doubt that a careful examination would disclose others.<sup>1</sup> In every case where such accounting is going on the tablet scribe is accompanied by a second scribe using the Egyptian pen, ink, and paper. There can be no doubt that these penmen were Aramean clerks. It is evident, therefore, that to the Assyrian sculptor a scene of accounting demanded two scribes, one cuneiform and the other a penman; and the sculptor, from the time of Tiglath-pileser IV on, had no other scene in his general notebook of sketches, which served as his constant source for such materials, just as did a similar sketchbook for the Egyptian relief sculptor.

If anyone has a lingering doubt about the Egyptian character of the writing equipment of these Aramean scribes in the Assyrian reliefs, such doubt will I am sure disappear on examination of a relief of the Aramean king of Samal, discovered at Senjirli by von Luschan, to whose kindness I owe the accompanying photograph (Fig. 14). The king is seated on his throne at the left, while before him stands his secretary, with an object under his left arm, which looks surprisingly like a book, but as this is impossible it may perhaps be a roll partly unrolled. In his left hand, however, he carries an unmistakable Egyptian writing outfit, like that in Fig. 8. Further confirmation of the identity of this writing outfit is contained in the Asiatic Semite's name for it. The prophet Ezekiel three times (9:2, 3, and 11) mentions a man having at his girdle a קֶסֶת הַסֵּפֶר. Now the Egyptians called the writing outfit shown above in Fig. 8

<sup>1</sup> The cases known to me are the following: Sargon: (1) Botta, II, pl. 146; (2) Botta and Flandin (scene now lost in the Tigris), *Monuments de Ninive*, Pl. 141; Tiglath-pileser IV: (3) Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, I, 58 = Patterson-Kleinmann, Photographs 88-89; Sennacherib: (4) Layard, II, 19 = Patterson, Palace of Sennacherib, 60/61; (5) Layard, II, 29; (6) Layard, II, 26 = Patterson, Palace, 52, upper row; (7) *ibid.*, lower row; (8) Layard, II, Pl. 35 = Patterson, Palace, 53/54; (9) Layard, II, 36 = Patterson, Palace, 55/56; (10) Layard, II, 37 = Patterson, Palace, 17/18; (11) Layard, II, 30; (12) Layard, II, 49; (13) Layard, II, 50 = Patterson, Palace, 38; (14) Patterson, Palace, 40/41; (15) Patterson, Palace, 71/73 (this is a part of the famous scene of Sennacherib at Lachish); (16) Patterson, Palace, 94/95; (17) Patterson, Palace, 98, No. 28, upper right-hand corner. I have not been able to use the Patterson photographs and the Layard plates together, and my notes on the two were made at different times. It may be, therefore, that one or two of the Patterson scenes counted in the seventeen are identical with those in Layard; but I think not. The only representation known to me, in which the cuneiform scribe was not accompanied by the Aramean penman, is the small scene on the Balawat gates, where a cliff stela is being engraved, and a scribe stands by, taking dictation (see Unger, *Zum Bronzetor von Balawat*, p. 51, and Tafel, III, 7). Many of the scenes in Layard are so badly drawn that the scribes are not easily recognizable. It is a significant commentary on the lack of archaeological study in Assyriology that we are still without a modern accurate publication of Assyrian wall reliefs.

𐤌𐤍𐤕 = *gsty*. This *gsty*, having the strong consonants *g-s-t*, corresponds to a Semitic *קסט* or *קסט*. This shows that the Egyptian writing outfit brought its Egyptian name into Asia.<sup>1</sup>



FIG. 14.—ARAMEAN SECRETARY OF THE KING OF SAMAL HOLDING AN EGYPTIAN WRITING OUTFIT

Before the king enthroned (at the left) stands his secretary (at the right) with an Egyptian writing outfit in his left hand, like that shown in Fig. 8. Relief of the eighth century B.C., discovered by von Lus Chau at Senjirli. Photograph kindly furnished by Professor von Lus Chau.

This Egyptian writing outfit, carried by the Aramean secretary of Samal, of course contained reed pens with a soft brush point like those we have found in Egypt. If this official were to begin taking

<sup>1</sup> The identity of *gsty* and the Semitic *קסט* has been noticed by W. M. Müller in the *Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung*, III, 49 ff., 328.



down his lord's dictation, he would spread his papyrus paper on his left hand, as we have seen the Egyptian scribe doing, and after him the Aramean scribes on the Assyrian reliefs. The pen would make the same broad strokes produced by the Egyptian scribe, and to settle the matter once for all, it is important to notice at this point that the Aramaic ostraca found at Samaria, perhaps reaching back into the ninth century B.C., clearly show that the soft-pointed Egyptian brush pen was employed in writing them.<sup>1</sup> Finally we know exactly how these Aramean documents of Western Asia looked, since we have been able to hold in our hands the Elephantine papyri.

The system of writing which employed pen, ink, and paper was the only one which possessed an alphabet, and which wrote that alphabet without vowels. It is evident that the pen-ink-and-paper method of writing came from Egypt into Asia and spread there at the very time when the alphabet also was appearing and coming into common use in the same region. It follows therefore that the Egyptian system of writing was in most intimate contact with the whole scribal situation in Western Asia, and it is highly unlikely that we can entirely dissociate the physical process and material equipment contributed by Egypt to Asia at this time from the alphabet which Asia likewise gained at the same time. That the pen-ink-and-paper method of writing brought with it into Asia also the influence of the system of writing practiced by it, is shown by the fact that the Samaria ostraca employ the Egyptian hieratic numerals, as Sprengling has noticed on the originals.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I owe knowledge of this fact to my colleague, Professor Martin Sprengling, who has worked with the originals, now in Constantinople.

<sup>2</sup> It will be seen that this discussion is an endeavor to present the main items of the evidence which may be drawn from the archaeology of ancient writing in the Near East, before undertaking a discussion of the alphabet itself, which the writer hopes later to do. I should perhaps mention that Professor Sayce has endeavored to show that Babylonians possessed and used papyrus paper in Sumerian days (Sayce, *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, I [1872], 343-45). His evidence consists of four main points: first, that the ideograph for a "written tablet" is compounded of two signs, one for "writing" and the other for "water," showing that the writing material came from the water and must therefore be papyrus(!). But clay might equally well come from the waterside, or in any case it was softened and kneaded with water for molding into tablets. If the sign really means "water," it might have referred to a number of things beside papyrus. The second point in Professor Sayce's argument is that an Assyrian translation of an old Sumerian ideograph for "writing" was "shaft of a reed," which he thinks was of course papyrus. But it is well known, and Messerschmidt's examination of the tablets themselves demonstrated the fact, that the scribe's stylus was a strip split from a reed. The Assyrian translation in question was nothing more than a reference to

the scribe's stylus. Thirdly, Professor Sayce adduces the word "*likhusi*" as meaning papyrus because it has a "wood" determinative before it. But this is surely a long way from identifying the word as meaning papyrus. Fourthly and finally, Professor Sayce quotes the following passage in Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* xiii. 22): "*Nuper et in Euphrate nascens circa Babylonem papyrus intellectum est eundem usum habere chartae.*" This testimony from the first century A.D. simply furnishes a later stage in the history of paper in Western Asia, of which the evidence presented by the present writer furnishes the first stage. There is not a shred of good evidence for any general use of papyrus in Western Asia before 1100 B.C. From that date on, it must have gradually become more and more common, especially in Assyrian and Persian administration. Benzinger's statement (*Hebräische Archäologie*, p. 184) that Jeremiah's bill of sale (Jer. 32:10 f.), some five hundred years after the introduction of papyrus in Syria, was likely to have been a clay tablet, demonstrates complete unfamiliarity with the archaeological evidence presented above and is another illustration of the excessively "Pan-Babylonian" point of view from which his book is written. Only the fact that the king cut up and burned Jeremiah's written prophecy restrains Benzinger from making that document also a clay tablet! The LXX here (Jer. 43:1 f.) translates *χάρτης* and *χαρτίον*, that is "papyrus," showing what was obvious to the oriental reader. The usual date for the introduction of papyrus into Europe (that is, Greece), about the sixth century B.C. (e.g., Darenberg-Saglio-Pottier, *Dict.*, IV, 319, "vers le VI<sup>e</sup> siècle"), is probably far too late. It must have come into Greece at a time when Byblos was the leading port of Phoenicia; otherwise papyrus would not have been named by the Greeks after this city, *βύβλος* (cf. Levy, *Semit. Fremdw.* im Griech., p. 172; Muss-Arnolt, *Trans. Amer. Phil. Assn.*, XXIII, 125; Boisacq, *Dictionnaire Etymol.*, p. 119), and Byblos had long since sunk into insignificance beside Tyre and Sidon in the sixth century B.C. It is more probable that the Cretans of Phaestus and Knossos in Mycenaean days were already using papyrus. Cultivated as far west as Sicily and as far east as Babylonia, papyrus, after giving way to an interval of parchment, finally surrendered entirely with the incoming of rag paper from the Chinese. Specimens of Chinese paper as old as the second century A.D. have recently (1906-8) been found by M. Aurel Stein west of Tun-Huang. They have been examined by Wiesner, and shown to be real rag paper. Indeed, vegetable-fiber paper was made by Ts'ai Lun in 105 A.D. (Wiesner, "Über die ältesten bis jetzt, aufgefundenen Hadernpapiere," *Sitzungsber. der Kais. Akad. der Wiss. in Wien*, CLXVIII; 5. Abh., vorgelegt 10. Mai, 1911). From the Chinese the Arabs then learned to make rag paper, especially after the capture of Samarcand. Parchment was then of course doomed. The Arabs began making rag paper in 751 A.D. and it was being manufactured in the south of Europe as early as the tenth or eleventh century. The above historical and archaeological facts make it clear that papyrus paper, pen, and ink were introduced from Egypt into Western Asia, beginning after 1100 B.C. Their introduction was therefore contemporaneous with the appearance and early use of the so-called Phoenician alphabet.

# SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE FINANCIAL IMPORTANCE OF THE TEMPLE IN THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON

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Frequent references in the Old Testament designate the temple as a kind of treasury or financial center. The first mention of this fact is found at the conclusion of Solomon's dedication of the temple, where it is said: "Solomon brought in the things which David his father had dedicated, even the silver and the gold, and the vessels, and put them in the treasuries of the house of Jahweh" (I Kings 7:51). Henceforth throughout the Old Testament the treasuries of the house of Jahweh play a significant rôle. One of the attractions for foreign invaders seems to have been the treasures of silver and gold that filled the sacred coffer of the temple, as well as that of the king's house. The first invasion of the land after the division of the kingdom, that of the king of Egypt, did not terminate until Shishak had taken "away the treasures of the house of Jahweh, and the treasures of the king's house; he even took away all: and he took away all the shields of gold which Solomon had made" (I Kings 14:26). The conclusion of the civil war between the Northern and Southern kingdoms, between Jehoash of Israel and Amaziah of Judah, resulted in the plunder of "all the gold and silver, and all the vessels that were found in the house of Jahweh" (II Kings 14:14). One of the prizes of Nebuchadrezzar's final capture of Jerusalem, was "the treasures of the house of Jahweh" (II Kings 24:13).

From the foregoing passages and others to be noted, it is evident that the treasury of the temple was a prolific source of plunder for those who were able to capture it, that it was held in high esteem by outside nations. The sources of this wealth seem to have been the regular temple tax and the gifts of rulers and individuals. Whether there were any other revenues, such as those from lands or from loans on interest, does not appear from the earlier narratives of the Old Testament. We are not so much concerned with the sources

of this wealth, but shall make inquiry as to its use. At the time of Josiah (II Kings 22:4, 9) it was employed to repair the temple, to pay the workmen engaged therein, and to buy the material with which their work was done.

Whether the treasury had any direct commercial value to the nation as a whole, as it had in Babylonia, seems to be in doubt. It may be that such functions, if they ever existed in Israel, were eliminated because of opposition of commercial firms or because of the deteriorating effect of such an institution as existed in Babylonia upon the ethical and religious life of the nation.

The most significant use made of the temple treasury was that made by the king. Although there was a full quota of officials who lived upon the revenues of the temple, the king seems to have dominated the institution, and to have had free access to its funds whenever an emergency arose. The political importance of the temple's presence shows itself when the king is forced to meet some great international issue.

When Asa of Judah was menaced by Baasha of Israel he resorted to an old and well-known custom. He appealed to Benhadad of Damascus, whose father had been in league with his own father; and in order to emphasize the value of the favor which he asked, he "took all the silver and the gold that were left in the treasures of the house of Jahweh, and the treasures of the king's house, and delivered them into the hands of his servants; and king Asa sent them to Benhadad . . . saying, There is a league between me and thee, between my father and thy father: behold, I have sent unto thee a present of silver and gold; go, break thy league with Baasha of Israel, that he may depart from me" (I Kings 15:18, 19). Asa's scheme was successful, and the pressure against his borders by Baasha was relaxed. The money of the temple treasury was effective in a political issue.

At another critical juncture, when Ahaz of Judah was threatened by defeat at the hands of Rezin of Damascus and Pekah of Israel, he saw on the far northern horizon a possible escape from his dilemma. Tiglath-pileser IV was making a triumphant campaign through to the Mediterranean and down the coast. Ahaz in desperation sent messengers to greet him, "saying, I am thy servant and thy

son; come up, and save me out of the hand of the King of Syria, and out of the hand of the King of Israel, who rise up against me" (II Kings 16:7). Such a message would plainly be futile without some substantial present or bribe. Ahaz turned to his best source of revenue and "took the silver and gold that was found in the house of Jahweh, and in the treasures of the king's house, and sent it for a present to the King of Assyria" (II Kings 16:8). No religious scruples would restrain Ahaz from using his full authority and even force in securing and using the sacred treasures for such a purpose.

The next example, however, is a more notable one respecting the character of the king who is involved. Hezekiah had apparently rebelled against the authority of Sennacherib, the king on the Assyrian throne. Sennacherib had planned an expedition into the Westland and probably on to Egypt. Incidentally he would punish such offenders as Hezekiah of Judah on the way. When the king of Assyria had come so dangerously near as Lachish, Hezekiah dispatched messengers to carry his confession and submission, saying, "I have offended; return from me: that which thou puttest on me will I bear. And the king of Assyria appointed unto Hezekiah King of Judah three hundred talents of silver, and thirty talents of gold [about \$1,400,000]. And Hezekiah gave him all the silver that was found in the house of Jahweh. . . . Hezekiah cut off the gold from the doors of the temple of Jahweh, and from the door-posts which Hezekiah King of Judah had overlaid, and gave it to the King of Assyria" (II Kings 18:14-16). Hezekiah's devotion to the temple and its service did not hinder him from regarding such a use of the temple treasures, as meeting with them the demands of Sennacherib, a legitimate method of saving from national disaster the kingdom over which he ruled.

The facts cited in the Old Testament regarding the temple treasures lead one to search backward into the earlier periods of Babylonian-Assyrian history, to ascertain the real significance of the temple in the religious and political life of those peoples, and if possible to discover what relation may exist between the respective positions of that center in the two nations.

Because of lack of space and abundance of material the discussion will be confined to the period of the first Babylonian dynasty (*ca.* 2232-1932 B.C.), a period of about three hundred years. There

are several hundreds of contract tablets dated during the reigns of the kings of that dynasty. These pertain to both public and private business contracts, to temple agreements, receipts, notes, loans, leases, and many other kinds of transactions that have no interest for us in this paper.

During this period the temple was one of the great institutions of the state. Its religious importance and political influence were undisputed. It was the center of the most potent factors in the well-being of the country. In addition, its commercial value to the community assumed large proportions. This latter feature was due to its resources in money, material, and lands. It was probably the largest and most successful, because best-regulated, banking establishment in the land.

Its revenues were multifarious. It received large amounts of money as dues, and perhaps quantities of products of different kinds, such as wheat, sesame, oil, fruits, wool, animals, etc. It also owned, rented, and cultivated large tracts of land which produced a liberal revenue in kind. Numerous temple accounts describe the land, as would a surveyor, and give lists of the crops and the cost of cultivation, i.e., the detailed account of money paid the help. Besides, the temple received many gifts from the pious worshipers of the patron deity of the temple.

But the significant characteristic of the temple center at this period which we wish to look into is its commercial importance. It was the banking-house of the community. Its treasures contained gold, silver, precious stones, and valuable metals. Its warehouses carried great quantities of grains, sesame, oil, and other edible products. It had also such raw goods as wool and other material for clothing. It kept on hand herds of cattle, sheep, goats, asses, and other useful domestic animals, each kind apparently having its own barns or stables.

At the head of each branch of husbandry was an overseer, whose business it was to superintend the feeding, breeding, and daily care of the animals. We find the shepherd, the goatherd, the cattleherd, and the assherd as regular officials.

Then the warehouse of grains was supervised by a temple official. He arranged loans of grain to intending farmers, to be repaid at the harvest season, usually with interest, which was  $33\frac{1}{3}$  per cent in kind.

If the loan was made to the poor he might put into the contract a clause, "without interest," simply the return of the original amount being required.

One of the most onerous duties of a temple official was the superintendence of the temple lands, which were often extensive. Like a private landlord, the temple often rented out the land for the season, furnished the seed for the soil, and required of the tenant return of the original amount of seed, with the established rate of interest. Such a loan is more properly to be termed an "advance" in order that the lands owned by the temple (corporation) might not lie fallow.

Probably the most profitable division of the temple activities was its banking business. The amount of money on hand, whether on deposit from individuals or firms, or of its own funds, was constantly in use, if we are to credit the tablets which come down to us from that era.

For the regulation of business transactions between individuals, or between individuals and groups, or between members of a family, or between the government and an individual, the Code of Hammurabi, from this same period, contains marvelous regulations. But when we turn to the temple as a commercial institution, it seems to have had rules and rates of its own established by the patron deity of that temple, so as to safeguard his devotees from the exorbitant charges of unprincipled lenders, whose tentacles are not unknown even in the boasted civilizations of the twentieth century. Among the contracts of this period, we find many that were made directly with the temple, with its patron deity, or with a temple official. Presumably, these temple officials, especially the priestesses, had private means of no small proportions, though it is not always easy to distinguish between their own private loans and those made for the temple which they served.<sup>1</sup>

The responsibility for a loan from the temple rests upon the god himself and upon the official through whom the loan was negotiated:

Five shekels of pure silver—at the Shamash (temple) rate of interest—Idin-Rammán, son of Shamash-mutabli, and his wife, Humtani, borrowed

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of the priestess, see C. H. W. Johns, *AJSL*, XIX, 98 f.

from the Shamash temple and Idin-jatum. When they see the notice(!) on the wall (of the market-place) they shall pay (weigh out) to the bearer of the document the silver and the interest thereon. In the month Elul, in the year of (the building of) the great wall of Shamash [Kohler-Ungnad, Hammurabi's Gesetz, IV, 919].

This seems to have been a "demand" loan which should be repaid only upon official notification. Its personal character is established by the name following that of the patron deity, and its rate of interest is that fixed by the same deity. The rate is not named here but was doubtless well known to the temple patrons. The repayment was by weight, hence indicating the lack of coinage at that early date.

Another document of similar import follows:

. . . . shekels of silver—at the Shamash (temple) rate—Sin-eribam and Bititum . . . . and Shellbum, sons of Rakakum borrowed from Shamash and Aja under the supervision of Shamash-muballit. At the time of harvest in the month of payment(!) are they to pay (weigh out) the silver together with its interest [K.-U., 857].

This was a joint loan, secured from the god Shamash himself and a subordinate, who was under the orders of a high official of the temple, possibly secretary of the treasury. The borrowers desired the money to tide them over until they should realize on their anticipated crops, and were to pay the legal Shamash rate of interest to the temple.

Another feature appears in this document:

Five shekels of silver, Palisu borrowed from Shamash his lord. The silver and its interest will he repay to Shamash [K.-U., 169].

This must have been a loan to some high and trusted official, for there are no witnesses to the document, no persons named in the memorandum—for that is all it is—except the borrower and the god, no date for payment, and no rate of interest specified, though presumably the Shamash rate, for interest is mentioned in the last line.

The following loan was of grain from the temple supply-warehouse:

Thirteen Kur of grain, interest-bearing (loan)—at the rate of one-third kur per kur—Abum-kima-ilim and Nawārsha-lūmur borrowed from the



god Shamash and Ur-Kalkal. At harvest time in the payment (!) month, shall they measure up the grain and interest thereon [K.-U., 899].

The god of Shamash and the temple officer responsible are the lenders. The interest is  $33\frac{1}{3}$  per cent, the entire note to be paid when the harvest shall have been gathered. This was not a loan without interest, such as was sometimes made to the poor, but bore the regular Shamash temple interest rate.

Another loan of grain of eight kur at the fixed rate of interest was secured by the same principals and a third party from Ur-kalkal, and the transaction is said to have taken place "in the presence of the god Sin, in the presence of the god Shamash." [K.-U., 903]. Two divinities were witnesses to this deal.

Note the divine witnesses to the following transaction:

Ten kur of grain—rate one-third kur per kur—grain of the god Shamash, Warad-Ilabrat borrowed from Shamash. At harvest time the grain and its interest are to be paid. In the presence of the gods Shamash, Nabium (and) Marduk [K.-U., 915].

There are no other than three divinities as witnesses named on this document.

Two-thirds of a shekel, five *she* of silver of Shamash from the hand of Ili-idinnam. If that which . . . turns out, it belongs exclusively to Shamash.

There are no witnesses to this notable little document. The implication is that whatever the borrower invests in, the results will all belong to the lender, the god Shamash.

The liberality of the temple of Shamash is well illustrated in the following tablet:

One-sixth of a shekel—interest rate at (the borrower's) pleasure—Awil-ilishu borrowed from the god Shamash. At the beginning of the harvest he is to please himself (literally, please his heart) in regard to the money. In the presence of the gods Sin and Shamash [K.-U., 917].

There are no witnesses except the two gods. This may have been a loan to some favored official or patron of the temple, whose pure intentions and simple honesty were ample security to Shamash. It is rather a memorandum made in the presence of the ever-present gods.



The next document seems to indicate, among other things, a division of the temple funds for special ends:

Eight kur of grain—Shamash measure—worth fourteen shekels of silver, belonging to the palace fund, specified wool-fund, under the supervision of the scribe Utul-Ishtar, which Idin-Ea, the judge, has received, Warad . . . son of Belshumu(!) [borrowed] from Idin-Ea, the judge [K.-U., 918].

The treasury office was under the supervision of a scribe, while the receiver of funds and the authorized lender was a judge. The last lines of the tablet are broken away.

Another intimate of the god Shamash appears in the following:

Three and one-quarter shekels of pure silver, Imgarum, son of Ili-eribam, as companion of the god Shamash, and Mannum-balum-Shamash borrowed. . . . To the bearer of the document they will weigh out the silver [K.-U., 920].

The standard dry measure of each god was used apparently:

$2\frac{1}{2}$  kur of grain—Marduk standard—received by Ili-balâti.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  kur of grain—Shamash standard—received by namarsha(!) in *meshekum* [K.-U. 1071].

That is, the receipts showed two standards of dry measure used in the same document.

Another great number of contracts specify the activities of temple priestesses in the loan business. Whether they loaned private funds or those of the temple where they were employed and to which they were devoted and consecrated is not always clear from the tablets. If they lent private funds some of them were capitalists for that day. If the temple funds were loaned out by them, these women held responsible positions in the leading loan and trust companies of the first Babylonian dynasty.

Here are a few samples of their transactions:

Four minas of silver—Shamash rate of interest—one slave Ilmatar, one slave Shamash-napsherum—eight shekels a year their wages—Sin-rîm-Ûrim, son of Ebarbarram-lûmur, in the month of Tammuz, borrowed from Erishti-Shamash, priestess of Shamash, daughter of Sin-rûn-Ûrim. In the month Tammuz he is to repay the silver and its interest [K.-U., 150].

This was a large transaction and carried with it a responsibility in caring for and employing two slaves.

One shekel of silver, Mâr-iršitim, and one-third of a shekel, Anum-abt, sons of Mahnûb-ili—Shamash rate of interest—borrowed from Aja-rishat,

priestess of Shamash, daughter of Shamash-abilshu. At harvest time they are to repay the silver with its interest [Schorr, *Urkunden des Altbabylonischen Zivil- und Prozessrechts*, 41A].

These two small loans, made to brothers, were put into the same document, were made by a priestess at the established rate of interest, and were to be paid at the gathering of the harvest.

A larger loan was:

Five shekels of pure silver—Shamash rate of interest—Shamash-muballit, son of Ullû, borrowed from Amat-Shamash, priestess of Shamash, daughter of Sin-idinnam. At harvest time during payment(!) period, he will pay (weigh out) the silver and its interest [K.-U., 152].

The contract specifies "pure silver"—a term found on a few documents, which probably designates the fineness of the metal.

Occasionally no interest rate is specified, as in the following:

One shekel twenty-five *she* of silver, Ibku-Aja and Ibkatum borrowed from Erishti-Aja, priestess of Shamash, daughter of Ibku-iršutum. In (the month) Nisan they are to repay the money. For security and sincerity (!) in the presence of [two persons and the scribe] [K.-U., 154].

This seems to be a loan without interest to be paid at a specified date, hence its special names of witnesses including the scribe.

Transactions between priestesses occur occasionally in this period:

One-half mina for the purchase of one-sixth GAN of a field, Erishti-Shamash, priestess of Shamash, daughter of Sin-tajâr, borrowed from Amat-beltim, priestess of Shamash, daughter of Silli-Ramman. Until she buys the field and it is hers, she will give annually three kur of grain—Shamash standard in *meshekum* in . . . . On the three Shamash feasts she is to furnish for each one piece of flesh and ten *ka* of meal [K.-U., 158].

This large loan apparently would cover a considerable period of time, and its payments were to be made in the necessities of the temple, according to the standard measures in use. The requirements of the feasts of Shamash were so heavy that the payment dates were made to coincide with those occasions. The entire document seems to substantiate the idea that this deal though between priestesses was made in temple funds.

Besides its established rate of interest and its own standard dry measure the temple had its own standard weight:

Five-sixths of a shekel of silver—Shamash weight—Rish-Shamash, son of Awil-[ ] borrowed, as purchase price for meal (!) from Ramman-idinnam [K.-U., 161].

Again we discover that money borrowed at the temple was sometimes repaid in grain:

Eleven shekels of silver for winnowing(!) the harvest, Ba(!)-sha-Damu, son of Tâbija, on the first of Tammuz borrowed from Amat-Shamash, priestess of Shamash, daughter of Warad-Illil. At the feast of the month Ab, at the current price, he is to measure up the grain in Kar-Sippar, leaving out of account the contents of an older contract [K.-U., 852].

The demands of the feast determined in part the method of payment of the loan. No interest is specified, three witnesses appear on the document, and no other obligations are to prejudice the regular payment of this according to contract. This same priestess appears on many contracts, and seems to have done a thriving business. Her father likewise was a lender of considerable sums.

What was the so-called Shamash rate? One little contract seems to point to that fact:

One shekel fifteen *she* of silver—one *she* is to be paid as the Shamash rate—Kubbulum, son of Kuttunum, borrowed from Aja-tallik, priestess of Shamash. At harvest time he is to repay the money with interest [K.-U., 855].

The absence of a date prevents us from reckoning the exact rate charged in this case.

Here is an example of a priestess who is said to have personally owned what she loaned:

Four shekels of silver, belonging to Lamassâni, priestess of Shamash, daughter of Narâm-Sin; Shelibur and Mâr-Sippar, sons of Makalânium, are to repay the silver at the time of harvest [K.-U., 861].

No interest is mentioned, no record of borrowing, though that is implied, and signed by three witnesses.

The following is a curious case of three men who borrowed grain from a temple priestess, apparently to sow their fields, with no interest specified. Is it possible that they were temple employees, and this is a record of an advance to them before the harvest?

$\frac{1}{2}$  kur of grain borrowed by Mâr-Shamash;

$\frac{1}{2}$  kur of grain borrowed by Ibbatum;

$\frac{1}{2}$  kur of grain borrowed by Nidnusha.

From Aja-Tallik, priestess of Shamash, daughter of Ullû, they borrowed it. At harvest time will they repay [K.-U., 883].

Three witnesses are named, but no interest is mentioned.

Some loans specified "no interest":

1½ kur grain . . . without interest—Warad-ilishu, son of Sin-ish-meanni, and Lamassi, his wife, borrowed from Ilteni, priestess of Shamash, daughter of Gaz-Ishtar. At harvest in the payment(!) month the grain is to be repaid [K.-U., 887].

One example of a loan from another temple than that of Shamash is the following:

. . . . *ka* of grain, interest-bearing, Lù-Ninib, son of Azag-Nani borrowed from Bêltâni, priestess of Ninib, daughter of Narâm-Sin. Out of the first of the harvest he is to pay back the grain with interest [K.-U., 890].

While several deities appear in various capacities as lenders, witnesses, objects of devotion, and recipients of gifts in this early period, Shamash seems to have been the favorite or most largely recognized deity in the contracts of the period.

These few illustrations, out of the hundreds, running up to more than a thousand, of the commercial significance of the temple in ancient Babylonia serve to reveal how powerful was the combination of religious activities with those of business. With all its revenues, sacred and profane, if such distinction could be made, it established a regulative policy that doubtless made for the highest welfare of business dealings throughout the nation. With its fixed rates of interest, its established standards of weights and measures, its far-reaching banking facilities for those in need of its resources, it stands forth as the most effective social institution in early Babylonia.

The temple of Israel's day was a mere shadow of its great progenitor as a social and commercial force. As a religious center or a religio-political force, Israel's temple occupied a higher plane in its nation than that on which we find the temples of early Babylonia in relation to their nation.

## THE EFFECT OF THE DISRUPTION ON THE HEBREW THOUGHT OF GOD

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As I have indicated elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> the influence of the disruption of Israel in 933 B.C. upon the Hebrew God-idea is a subject that has as yet received no consideration in print. Attention has been focused exclusively upon the social and political effects of the Disruption, while its theological influence has been largely overlooked. And yet it seems that the logical inferences from the Disruption must have had much to do with shaping the later thought of God.

The idea of God that prevailed in Israel in the generation immediately preceding the Disruption is as well known to us as that of any generation in Israel. The older records for the period of Samuel, Saul, David, and Solomon are among the best in the Old Testament. They come from a relatively early period and they have been comparatively little affected by later editorial revision. They give us practically uncolored the point of view of a time lying very close to that which they describe. Furthermore, the concrete facts which they record as belonging to the period of the undivided monarchy carry the evidence of their genuineness imprinted upon them, and speak very clearly as to the social and religious ideas amid which they came to pass. The historical value of these materials is of the highest order. Kennedy, for example, speaking of a section of these records, says,

In virtue of their perfect style and their life-like portraiture, the amount of picturesque detail and the often dramatic intensity of the action, these twelve chapters [viz., II Sam., chaps. 9-20] constitute the finest, as they are the earliest, specimen of continuous prose narrative in the Old Testament. . . . The freshness and vividness of the narrative and the abundance of minute personal detail compel us to see in the author one who either himself played a part in the events he so graphically records, or has derived his

<sup>1</sup> *American Journal of Theology*, XIX (1915), 23.

information, at first hand, from those whose names are forever enshrined in his pages.<sup>1</sup>

We can therefore safely trust the testimony of these records as to the Hebrew thought of Yahweh in the half-century before the Disruption.

The relatively primitive character of the God-idea of the period in question is very clearly indicated by the data at hand. Yahweh's prophet issues an order to Saul to exterminate the Amalekites, men, women, and children, not to speak of their material possessions; declares that Saul has forfeited the kingdom because he has spared King Agag and some of the booty; and hews Agag "in pieces before Yahweh" with his own hands (I Sam., chap. 15). Saul was troubled by "an evil spirit from Yahweh" (I Sam. 16:14; 18:10, etc.), and the evil spirit could be charmed away by music (I Sam. 16:23). Yahweh was angry and refused to respond to Saul's appeals for guidance because Jonathan had unwittingly broken a vow made binding upon all Israel by his father (I Sam. 14:36-45). Yahweh's prophets were a gregarious order, prophesying *en masse*, needing music to stimulate their prophetic faculties, and subject to ecstatic trances, in some cases, of long duration (I Sam. 19:18-24). David in bringing up the ark of Yahweh into the heart of Jerusalem, danced before it in such a degree of nudity as to shock the sensibilities of a wife whom we have no reason to regard as a prude (II Sam. 6:20; cf. I Sam. 19:24). David, who with all his limitations was a devout and loyal worshiper of Yahweh, had in his house a teraphim which was clearly an idolatrous image of human proportions (I Sam. 19:13 ff.). Yahweh is said to have sent a three years' famine upon all Israel in the days of David, because his predecessor Saul had slain some of the Gibeonites and so had violated an oath sworn to by them and Israel in the earlier days. Seven of Saul's descendants are thereupon hung up "in the hill before Yahweh" by way of blood-revenge, "and after that God was intreated for the land" (II Sam. 21:1-14). "And again the anger of Yahweh was kindled against Israel, and he moved David against them, saying, 'Go,

<sup>1</sup> *Samuel* (New-Century Bible, 1905), pp. 20 f.; similarly as to these and other chapters: Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (1914), pp. 176 f., 183; Dhorme, *Les livres de Samuel* (1910), pp. 8 f.; Kittel, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, I (1909), 157 f., 201; K. Budde, *Die Bücher Samuelis* (1902), p. xx.

number Israel and Judah.'” Because of this act, inspired by himself, Yahweh causes the death of seventy thousand men in Israel, and the slaughter was stayed even then only because David sacrificed burnt-offerings and peace-offerings upon Araunah’s threshing floor (II Sam. 24:1-25).

But the most instructive incident, perhaps, for an appreciation of our problem is that recorded in I Sam. 26:17-20. Here David chides Saul for his murderous pursuit of him, holding up the spear and cruse to view as an evidence of the innocence of his own attitude toward Saul. Every word of the conversation is significant: “If Yahweh have stirred thee up against me”—of what conduct is David’s God not capable? “Then let him smell an offering”—what a materialistic, sensuous conception of God! “But if it be the children of men, *cursed be they before Yahweh*, for they have driven me out this day that I should not cleave unto the inheritance of Yahweh, saying, ‘Go, serve other gods.’” David, seeing himself on the verge of expulsion into Philistia, thinks of this as exile from Yahweh’s land and presence. That this is his own point of view and not merely that which he imputes to his foes is clear from his further statement, “Now, therefore, let not my blood fall to the earth *away from the presence of Yahweh*.” This thought of God is of the same sort as that placed upon the lips of Jephthah in Judg. 11:23 f., “So now Yahweh, the God of Israel, hath dispossessed the Amorite from before his people Israel, and shouldest thou [viz., Ammon] possess them? Wilt not thou possess that which Chemosh, thy God, giveth thee to possess? So whomsoever Yahweh, our God, hath dispossessed from before us, them will we possess.” Yahweh was evidently thought of as a national God pure and simple. His interests were limited to his own land and people. Other gods were recognized as having equally legitimate sway over the fortunes of other peoples. He could be depended upon for effective and hostile reaction against his people’s foes (I Sam., chap. 5). He resented the recognition within Israel, in any form, of the gods of other nations.<sup>1</sup> He demanded an exclusive and undivided loyalty from his people.

<sup>1</sup> The record of the prophetic protest against Solomon’s arrangements for the worship by his wives each of her own god is certainly late. But there can be little doubt that the prophetic party of his day already felt that Yahweh was outraged by the presence of these foreign cults in his own capital and under the auspices of his own king.



The splitting of Israel into two fragments, first after the death of Saul when Ishbosheth and David led the rival factions, and again after Solomon's death when the leaders were Jeroboam and Rehoboam, created an unprecedented situation in Israel religiously. Yahweh was now the God not of one nation merely, but of two; and these were bitterly hostile each toward the other and for years were engaged in wars upon one another. This situation sooner or later was bound to have its effect upon the thought of God. It was subversive of the very idea of a national God. That idea is in essence exclusive and particularistic. A national god as such can be the god of only one independent, political unit. The only way for a national god to increase his territorial domain is by conquest or by absorption. The moment he extends his favor toward another people than his own and admits them as a nation on an equal and independent footing to the circle of his worshipers, at that moment does he cease to be a national god.

The foregoing proposition holds good notwithstanding what Durkheim says apropos of the expansive nature of religion, viz.:

It is far from true that religious internationalism is a peculiarity of the most recent and advanced religions. From the dawn of history, religious beliefs have manifested a tendency to overflow out of one strictly limited political society. It is as though they had a natural aptitude for crossing frontiers and for diffusing and internationalizing themselves. Of course there have been peoples and times when this spontaneous attitude has been held in check by opposed social necessities; but that does not keep it from being real and, as we see, very primitive.<sup>1</sup>

That the Yahweh-religion shared this tendency common to all religions would be evident if we could establish the fact of the widespread use of the name "Yahweh" outside of Israel in the pre-Mosaic age.<sup>2</sup> This has been confidently claimed by many scholars (Sayce, Delitzsch, Clay, Radau, Zimmern, Rogers, *et al.*), but my colleague, Dr. D. D. Luckenbill, assures me that with one possible exception the genuine Yahweh-names cited in support of this contention do not antedate the time of David.<sup>3</sup> If, however, the fact should yet be

<sup>1</sup> *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (1915), pp. 288 f.

<sup>2</sup> See George A. Barton, "Yahweh before Moses," *Studies in the History of Religions Presented to Crawford Howell Toy* (1912), pp. 187-204.

<sup>3</sup> See a forthcoming article in *The American Journal of Theology* by D. D. Luckenbill upon this question.

proved, the nationalizing of the Yahweh-religion in Israel would be one of those "opposed social necessities" which would militate against the further operation of the internationalizing tendency of Hebrew Yahwism. As long as the national idea of Yahweh persisted, there could be no other attitude within Yahweh's nation than that of political and religious opposition toward all non-Yahwistic peoples. The setting up of a second and independent Yahwistic kingdom was in principle a bursting wide open of the national God-idea. If there might be two separate kingdoms each serving Yahweh, why not any number of such kingdoms? Yahweh thereupon ceases to have a favorite, indeed an only people, and becomes the God of two or more peoples alike, with their mutually exclusive ambitions and ideals.

We must bear in mind, of course, the fact that the Disruption did not bring a body of new people into being as a Yahwistic kingdom; but on the contrary merely signified a division of the recognized followers of Yahweh into two camps. Yahweh had no more followers after the Disruption than before; but they were grouped antagonistically and were each claiming his championship of their rights. Up to a certain point, the situation is the same as that brought into existence by civil war within the nation. The followers of Yahweh are fighting one another and invoking his aid in their destructive activities. But there the resemblance ceases. In the civil war, each side is struggling for supremacy within the nation; there is no thought of permanent separation. The nation will continue as before, but with a change in the government. The movement that brought the Disruption looked to separate organizations from the start. It was distinctly a secession enterprise. It is true that there were periods when the South was in vassalage to the North during the later history; but this was not necessarily in the original plan and the South was actually free and independent often enough and long enough to keep the idea of its own self-government continually to the fore. Thus the bearing of the political situation upon the thought of God cannot have escaped attention.

So far as we know, this situation in Israel and Judah is one without an exact parallel. Nowhere else in the world have two separate and independent kingdoms, holding to the idea of a national god, been found serving one and the same god as arbiter of their destinies.

Neither the seizure of the throne of all Egypt by Piankhi, the Nubian, in the eighth century B.C., nor the enthronement of Esarhaddon, of Assyria, as king of Babylon, involved the same sort of a situation. In the first place, the political result in neither case was the institution of two independent monarchies, but rather the subjection by conquest of an opponent and the incorporation of the conquered territory in the victorious kingdom. In the second place, the religious situations differed, in that neither Egypt nor Assyria was so distinctly monolatrous as Israel and Judah. Amon and Ashur were members of pantheons. Esarhaddon, for example, frankly recognized Marduk as god of Babylon, though serving Ashur in his own proper realm. The problem for religion with which we are dealing can arise only where monolatry is clearly recognized and logically followed out.

It may be that the fact that Yahweh was primarily not a god of a land, but of a people, rendered this opposition of part against part less revolutionary in its effect upon thinking than it might have been otherwise. Yahweh was the God of Israel before he became the God of Canaan.<sup>1</sup> He was not indissolubly tied to the soil as were the Baalim. His relations were with the same people after the Disruption as before. He was still the God of the Hebrews as over against all other nations. But even so, "a house divided against itself cannot stand!" The idea of Yahweh as Israel's God can survive only on condition that Israel remain an undivided whole. If it permit itself to be divided into two separate and independent nations, it has prepared the way for the complete breakdown of the national God-idea. Yahweh was one of the most effective bonds uniting the fragments of Israel into a nation. Without Yahweh there could have been no Israel. With Yahweh presiding impartially over a divided Israel, political and religious isolation and independence are alike imperiled. If Yahweh be God of two nations, evidently his interests are not identified with those of either one, as is inevitably the case with a strictly national god. He favors neither the one nor the other. Indeed the suspicion must arise that he is more or less indifferent to both alike and that he is dealing with them primarily not from the point of view of the advantage of either or of both, but from the standpoint of his own superior and more comprehensive purposes.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. R. Smend, *Lehrbuch der alttestamentlichen Religionsgeschichte*, 2d ed. (1899), pp. 18, 113 f.

As a matter of fact, after the Disruption, we do find Yahweh's activities frequently transcending the limits of Hebrew territory.<sup>1</sup> The J and E narratives make non-Israelites act and talk as though they were worshipers of Yahweh. For example, Pharaoh and Joseph both speak of "God" and both mean the same God (Gen., chap. 41). The Philistine Abimelech's God is evidently Yahweh (Gen., chap. 20 and 26:29). Laban the Syrian is clearly presented as a worshiper of Yahweh (Gen. 24:50; 31:49). The Sodomites too worship Yahweh (Gen., chap. 18). Balaam, Yahweh's prophet, is a non-Israelite; and Balak, King of Moab, recognizes Balaam's God as his own (Num., chaps. 23 ff.). Rahab, the harlot of Canaanitish Jericho, speaks in the same way (Josh., chap. 2).

In like manner, the widow of Zarephath, a Zidonian, is informed in advance by Yahweh of the coming of Elijah, and recognizes in him a man of God in whose mouth is the word of Yahweh (I Kings, chap. 17). Naaman the Syrian's victories over his foes were given to him by Yahweh, God of Israel (II Kings 5:1). Benhadad of Syria sends his courtier Hazael to inquire of Elisha the will of Yahweh regarding the outcome of his illness; and Elisha declares to Hazael that it is Yahweh's will that the latter shall be king of Syria (II Kings 8:7-15). Micaiah ben Imlah thinks of Yahweh as setting the forces of other nations in motion to accomplish his own ends within Israel (I Kings 22:15-28).

This sort of thought regarding the gods was not by any means confined to Israel. For example, Ishtar of Nineveh visited Egypt in the time of Amenophis III at the latter's own request. Esarhad-don says that he restored the temples of Marduk in Babylon by the command of the god himself. The Babylonian priests represented Cyrus as having been called in by Marduk to punish Babylon for its sins. Hammurabi sent back the captured goddesses of Elam to their own land, probably because of misfortunes which he attributed to them, even as the Philistines did in the case of the ark of Yahweh. Mesha, king of Moab, explains Israel's conquest of Moabitish territory as due to the fact that Chemosh was angry at his land.

Wherever these forms of statement may occur, they indicate an increasing familiarity on the part of those who use them with the

<sup>1</sup> See Peisker, *Die Beziehung der nicht-Israeliten zu Yahweh* (1907).

thought of their gods as concerned with and operative in affairs outside of the limits of their own kingdoms. It is evidence of the tendency toward expansion, of which we spoke above, manifesting itself in spite of the limitations naturally surrounding a national God-idea. The most striking statements of this kind are from the lips of Amos. In the oracles against the foreign nations with which his prophecy opens, his denunciation is in one case, at least, based upon an offense which did not concern Israel at all directly. Yahweh is represented as intervening to punish a people not because of any injury done to Israel, but because of the violation of the common laws of humanity (Amos 2:1). But in 9:7, Amos goes even farther and classes Israel as standing in the same relation to Yahweh as Ethiopians, Philistines, and Syrians. This must not be pushed so far as to make Amos the spokesman of a universal conception of God; for, as his book abundantly shows, he still gives Israel the first place in Yahweh's heart. But the national idea of God is here stretched to the breaking-point.

This larger view of God which comes to expression with Amos was the imperative need of the times in religion. The old, limited, national conception of Yahweh could not have met successfully the problems forced upon Israel's attention by the progress of Assyria in the West-land. Yahweh had to grow or die. The development of Assyria as a world-power was itself largely conducive to the development of a world-view of Yahweh.<sup>1</sup> It forced men to think in larger terms and to take longer views. Another influence working in the same direction came from the cosmological myths of Babylonian origin that were taken over and incorporated in the J document of Genesis. These were not monotheistic, to be sure; but they dealt with world-problems and represented a relatively high thought of God. To these and other forces at work upon the Hebrew conception of Yahweh must be added the situation produced by the Disruption. Just what share it had in preparing the way for monotheism, we cannot say. As far as the records of the Old Testament show, it was a silent partner in the co-operative enterprise—but there is no reason for ignoring or minimizing its influence on that account.

<sup>1</sup> See George Adam Smith, "The Influence of Assyria upon Prophecy," *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*, I (1896), 44-58.

It must have done its part in the common task. If Yahweh could preside over the destinies of two nations with conflicting and opposing aims, why need the thought of his control stop there? Having crossed the line of influence beyond which as a national God he could not go, there were no fixed limits to his further progress.

Hebrew monotheism was the resultant of a complexity of social forces, among which the ethical interest held, perhaps, a dominant place. No one of these influences, least of all the effect of the Disruption, could have brought in monotheism single-handed. Each had its own contribution to make to the great end, without which the end would not have been achieved when it was or as it was. All we are asking for here is that room shall be made among the previously recognized contributory influences for the influence of the Disruption, which it would seem cannot have been of altogether minor significance.

## OLD BABYLONIAN LETTERS FROM BISMYA

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### NO. 2<sup>1</sup> SIN-ÊRISH TO ELMÊSHUM

CONTENTS.—Elmêshum does not see how he will be able to pay back more than one of the five *gur* of grain he owes Sin-êrish. The latter urges immediate settlement, since the grain is needed for the sowing. Elmêshum is also requested to collect and forward some outstanding money.

TRANSLITERATION.— <sup>1</sup> *a-na El-me-e-šum* <sup>2</sup> *ki-be-ma* <sup>3</sup> *um-ma* <sup>4</sup> *Sin-êriš-ma* <sup>5</sup> *Šamaš li-ba-al-li-iṭ-ka* <sup>6</sup> *ki-ma i-na* <sup>7</sup> *Še-Gur* <sup>8</sup> *ša ta-na-ad-di-nam* <sup>9</sup> *1 Še-Gur ta-ga-am-mi-la-šum* <sup>10</sup> *[a]t-ta u-la ti-i-du* <sup>11</sup> *šu[m-m]a i-na ki-tim* <sup>12</sup> *a-ḫi at-ta* <sup>13</sup> *še-a-am* <sup>14</sup> *ša ta-aḫ-bu-u* <sup>15</sup> *ar-ḫi-iš i ba-in-ma* <sup>16</sup> *eklam(lam) la in-na-ad-di* <sup>17</sup> *u kaspam* <sup>18</sup> *ša Zi-da-lum* <sup>19</sup> *aš-pu-ra-am* <sup>20</sup> *šu-di-na-am-ma* <sup>21</sup> *šu-bi-lam.*

TRANSLATION.—To Elmêshum speak: Thus saith Sin-êrish: May Shamash grant thee life. (You say) you do not know how you can spare (save) one *gur* of grain out of the five *gur* which you are to give (that is: repay) me. If in truth you are my brother, the grain which you mention, repay at once so that the field may not lie fallow. Further: I have written you about the money of Zidalum. Collect and bring it.

#### NOTE

L. 12. *i ba-in*: Imperative of 𒂗𒂊, with precative particle. Delitzsch, *AGr*<sup>2</sup>, § 106. Cf. No. 5, ll. 7, 11, and 28.

### NO. 3. UBARRUM TO SIN-ÊRISH

CONTENTS.—Concerning the place of enrolment of the “gentleman” *Adi-mati-ilu*. The logical connection, if there is any, between the clauses of the second half of the letter is not clear.

TRANSLITERATION.— <sup>1</sup> *a-na Sin-êriš* <sup>2</sup> *ki-be-ma* <sup>3</sup> *um-ma* <sup>4</sup> *U-bar-rum-ma* <sup>5</sup> *Šamaš mu-ḫi-ṭ[i] li-ba-a[l-li-iṭ-ka]* <sup>6</sup> *aš-šum*

<sup>1</sup> No. 1 appeared in *AJSL*, XXXII, 98 f.

<sup>m</sup>A-di-ma-ti-ilu a-wi-[lam] <sup>6</sup> i-na tu-up-pi-ja ša-te-[ir] <sup>7</sup> a-wi-lam  
a-na tu-up-pi-i[a] <sup>8</sup> ša I-a-mu-ut-ba-li-im <sup>9</sup> la tu-ma-ša <sup>10</sup> a-wa-  
tum it-ti be-li-ja <sup>11</sup> du-un-nu-na <sup>12</sup> aš-šum mu-ru-iš li-bi-ka <sup>13</sup> ša  
ta-aḫ-bi-a-am <sup>14</sup> lu-zi-iz-ma <sup>15</sup> da-aḫa-nu-tam li-ta-ḫi-er-ma <sup>16</sup> a-wi-  
lam ta-ša-da-ar-ma <sup>17</sup> a-na <sup>d</sup>Šamaš-u-ku(?) -du-ka <sup>18</sup> [l]a-ḫi-a-šu  
ma-am-ma-an <sup>19</sup> u-la i-li-e <sup>20</sup> u AD-HU-ka ta-pa-ra-as

TRANSLATION.—To Sin-ērish speak: Thus saith Ubarrum. May Shamash, who searches my heart, grant thee life. Because (the name of) Adi-mati-ilu, the “gentleman,” is written in my tablet, you do not find the gentleman’s (name) on my tablet of Yamutbal. The matter is confirmed (lit., strengthened) with my lord. Because you are annoyed, I will take in hand what you have commanded me. Let him receive(?) the judgeship. The (name of the) man you will write. No one is able to take him to Shamash-ukuduka(?). Further: You will render your decision(?).

NOTES

Ll. 15 f. Meaning obscure. *li-ta-ḫi-er*: Probably II<sub>2</sub> of *maḫāru*.

L. 20. AD-HU: ideogram for *piristu*? Cf. *ad-ḡal*, etc.; Delitzsch, *Sum. Gl.* 8.

NO. 4. SHAMASH-GÂMIL TO UBÂTUM

CONTENTS.—Shamash-gâmil sends Ili-turam to Ubâtum for punishment, mentioning certain counter charges made by Ili-turam.

TRANSLITERATION.—<sup>1</sup> a-na U-ba-a-a-tum <sup>2</sup> ki-be-ma <sup>3</sup> um-ma  
<sup>d</sup>Šamaš-ga-mil-ma <sup>4</sup> a-na ši-gi-il-ti <sup>5</sup> <sup>m</sup>I-li-tu-ra-am <sup>6</sup> a-ta-er-ka  
<sup>7</sup> ki-ma ta-ga-bu-u-ma <sup>8</sup> i-ba-ga-ru-ka <sup>9</sup> <sup>m</sup>I-li-tu-ra-am <sup>10</sup> ik-  
bi-a-am <sup>11</sup> ki-be-ma du-ub-bu-ub-ta-am <sup>12</sup> la i-[ša]-aš-ši <sup>13</sup> [a]n-ni-  
[l]a-am a-wa-ta-am <sup>14</sup> e-li-ka i-šu-u

TRANSLATION.—To Ubâtum speak: Thus saith Shamash-gâmil. I have sent you Ili-turam for punishment. When you give the command, they will make complaint to(?) you. Ili-turam spoke to me as follows: Say: “He shall not make complaint.” This matter he has against you.

NOTES

L. 6. *ata’er*: I<sub>2</sub> pret. of אָרָא.

L. 12. The usual writing is *la i-ša-aš-si*. Cf. the phrase *ana dububtim maman la išāssi*.

NO. 5. NIN-SHUBUR-ÊPUSH TO ISHUM-NIN-SHUBUR

CONTENTS.—Nin-shubur-êpush sends Mâr-Amurrim to Ishum-Nin-shubur for a *gur* of grain. This grain is for the latter’s mother.



TRANSLITERATION.—<sup>1</sup> *a-na I-šum-<sup>d</sup>Nin-šubur* <sup>2</sup> *ki-be-ma*  
<sup>3</sup> *um-ma <sup>d</sup>Nin-šubur-êpuš(uš)-ma* <sup>4</sup> *<sup>d</sup>Nin-šubur li-ba-al-li-iṭ-ka*  
<sup>5</sup> *a-nu-um-ma Mâr-<sup>d</sup>Amurrim* <sup>6</sup> *it-ta-al-ka-a[k-k]um* <sup>7</sup> *1 gur še-*  
*a-am i ba-iš-šum* <sup>8</sup> *ap-pu-tum ri-ku-us-zu* <sup>9</sup> *la ta-ṭa-ar-ra-da-šu*  
<sup>10</sup> *1 gur še-am a-na um-mi-ka* <sup>11</sup> *i ba-in-ma* <sup>12</sup> *e-ri-iš ši(?) -i-ta*  
<sup>13</sup> *la wa-aš-ba-at* <sup>14</sup> *u-ul i-ṭ[a-a]p-pa-lu-ka* <sup>15</sup> *Ut(?) -na-pi-iš-tim*  
<sup>16</sup> *u tu-bu-ul-li-im* <sup>17</sup> *u ši-me-(?) -e-im(?)* <sup>18</sup> *u-ul ma-ru-uš*  
<sup>19</sup> *a-nu-um-ma UN-NE-du-tum* <sup>20</sup> *bi-el-ti-ja a-na <sup>d</sup>Nanna-tum*  
<sup>21</sup> *aš-šum na-gi-ri-i[m] u tu-ḥi* <sup>22</sup> *it-ta-al-ka-a-am* <sup>23</sup> *<sup>m</sup>Mâr-*  
<sup>d</sup>*Amurrim* <sup>24</sup> *li-ṭe-iḥ-ḥi-i-ma* <sup>25</sup> *me-ḥi-ir lu-du-ki-im* <sup>26</sup> *li-ri-iš*  
<sup>27</sup> *1 gur še-a-am a-na um-mi-ka* <sup>28</sup> *i ba-in la tu-bu-ul-lu-um* <sup>29</sup> *u*  
*ṭe-dam u li-bi-ṭi-ta-a-am* <sup>30</sup> *li-iz-bi-lu-nim* <sup>31</sup> *ap-pu-tum*

TRANSLATION.—To Ishum-Nin-shubur speak: Thus saith Nin-shubur-êpush: May Nin-shubur grant thee life. Mâr-Amurrim is coming to you now. Give him a *gur* of grain, if you please. Do not send him away empty-handed. For your mother give a *gur* of grain, and plant (the field?). (That) she(?) is not dwelling here, they did not tell you. Ut(?) -napištim either . . . . or . . . . is not sick. And now Unnedutum, my lady, is coming to Nanna-tum on account of the overseer and *tuḥi*. Let her bring Mâr-Amurrim. A reply . . . . let her(?) ask for. Give a *gur* of grain for your mother. No. . . . . Further: Clay and brick let them bring, if you please.

## NOTES

- L. 3. *<sup>d</sup>Nin-šubur-êpuš(uš)*: The second element is uncertain.  
 L. 7. *i ba-iš-šum*: *ba-in* with suffix.  
 Ll. 12 f. Translation conjectural.  
 L. 15. The reading *Ut-napištim* is doubtful, but *ma-ru-uš* of l. 18 calls for a masculine proper(?) noun as subject.  
 L. 16. With *tu-bu-ul-li-im* of this line and *tu-bu-ul-lu-um* of l. 28 I can do nothing. There is a *tubullû* = *KI-SAG-DU* (Meissner *SAI*, 7328), but the meaning is unknown.  
 L. 19. *UN-NE-du-tum*: *UN-NE* = *nišê*, but how this is to be combined with the two following elements is not clear.  
 L. 24. *li-ṭe-iḥ-ḥi-i-ma*: This shows that the *uḥ*-sign also has the value *iḥ*.  
 L. 29. The extra *a* in *li-bi-ṭi-ta-a-am* is hard to account for.

## NO. 6. APIL-ILISHU TO HIS SON

CONTENTS.—The father sends Ili-êrish to his son for wool to be used in paying his stated temple contribution.

TRANSLITERATION.—<sup>1</sup> *a-na ma-r[i]-ja ša <sup>d</sup>Marduk u-ba-al-*  
*li-ṭu-šu* <sup>2</sup> *ki-be-ma* <sup>3</sup> *um-ma A-pil-il[i-š]u-ma* <sup>4</sup> *<sup>d</sup>Šamaš u*

<sup>d</sup>Marduk a-n[a d]a-ri-a-tim li-ba-al-li-tu-ka <sup>5</sup> a-nu-um-ma <sup>m</sup>I-li-  
ê-riš <sup>6</sup> aṭ-ṭar-da-ak-kum <sup>7</sup> 20 ma-na šipâtim dam-ga-tim <sup>8</sup> ki-ma  
gi-ni-ja <sup>9</sup> šu-bi-lam

TRANSLATION.—To my son, to whom Marduk has granted life, speak:  
Thus saith Apil-ilishu. May Shamash and Marduk forever grant thee life.  
I am sending Ili-êrish to you; 20 mana of fine wool as my regular temple  
offering, send me.

NOTE

L. 1. uballiqušu. The present tense is generally used in this formula.

NO. 7. KAWIUM TO SHALLURUM

CONTENTS.—Kawium urges the delivery of pitch concerning  
which he has written for the fifth time.

TRANSLITERATION.— <sup>1</sup> a-na Ša-al-lu-r[u-um] <sup>2</sup> ki-be-ma  
<sup>3</sup> um-ma Ka-wi-um-ma <sup>4</sup> <sup>d</sup>Šamaš li-ba-al-li-iṭ-ka <sup>5</sup> a-na  $\frac{1}{2}$  še  
iddi ḥa-am-ši šu-u <sup>6</sup> aš-bu-ur-ra-ak-kum-ma <sup>7</sup> u-ul tu-ša-ab-ba-[la-]  
am-ma <sup>8</sup> iddām i-na ja-ši-i[m] <sup>9</sup> [a]-na a-ma-ri-im <sup>10</sup> u-ul i-ba-  
aš-ši-i <sup>11</sup> [ $\frac{1}{2}$ ] še am-ra-am-ma <sup>12</sup> [šu]-bi-lam <sup>13</sup> . . . . -tu-  
<sup>14</sup> . . -di(?) . . . . -ab(?) <sup>15</sup> i-na an-ni-tim <sup>16</sup> a-ḥu-ut-ka lu-  
mu-ur.

TRANSLATION.—To Shallurum speak: Thus saith Kawium: May  
Shamash grant thee life. This is the fifth time I have written you about the  
half-še of pitch and you do not send it to me. I haven't any pitch (lit.,  
pitch by me to see there is not). Find a half-še and send it. . . . Herein  
let me see your brotherliness.

NO. 8. MÂRI-IRSITIM TO UKKIN-UM

CONTENTS.—Mâri-irsitim to UKKIN-um. Certain women are  
to be brought to Adab where they are to thrash and receive grain.

TRANSLITERATION.— <sup>1</sup> a-na UKKIN(?) -um <sup>2</sup> ki-be-ma <sup>3</sup> um-  
ma Ma-ri-ir-ši-tim-ma <sup>4</sup> <sup>d</sup>Šamaš li-ba-al-li-iṭ-ka <sup>5</sup> Na-pi-iš-tum  
<sup>6</sup> A-ta (or ša)-ki-tim <sup>7</sup> E-ta-ḥa-ma <sup>8</sup> ri-di-a-am <sup>9</sup> [š]a ta-ra-  
di-a-am <sup>10</sup> ri-mu-sa še-a-am <sup>11</sup> i-na Adab<sup>ki</sup> <sup>12</sup> li-ir-pi-su-u-ma  
<sup>13</sup> li-el-ku <sup>14</sup> ap-pu-tum.

TRANSLATION.—To UKKIN(?) -um speak: Thus saith Mâri-irsitim.  
Napishtum, Atakitum and Etahama bring to me. Whom(ever) you bring  
to me, I will pardon. In Adab let them thrash and receive grain, if you  
please.

## NOTES

L. 10. *rimûsa*: Some form of *šakānu* probably to be supplied.

L. 12. *lirpisûma*: From *rapûsu*, not a common word, but one whose meaning is clear from the syllabaries.

## NO. 9. SIN-A——TO——

TRANSLITERATION.—<sup>1</sup> *a-na* . . . . .<sup>2</sup> *ki-b[e-ma]* <sup>3</sup> *um-ma*  
<sup>d</sup>*Sin-a* . . . .<sup>4</sup> <sup>d</sup>*Šamaš aš-šum[-i-a]* <sup>5</sup> *li-ba-al-li-i[t-ka]* <sup>6</sup> *i-nu-u-ma*  
<sup>7</sup> *a-na-k[u-]u-ma u at-ta* <sup>8</sup> *i-na* . . . . .*ma(?)*-*al*<sup>ki</sup> <sup>9</sup> *ni-in-na-*  
*am-[mi-ir]* <sup>10</sup> *ki-a-am ta-ak-bi-a-am* <sup>11</sup> *ni(?)*-*ma-a-ta-ma* <sup>12</sup> *[i]-nu-*  
*u-ma* <sup>13</sup> *a-na* . . . . .*na*<sup>ki</sup> <sup>14</sup> *ta-la-ak-ku-u* <sup>15</sup> *šina wa-ar-ki*  
<sup>Šu</sup>-*ba-ri-im* <sup>16</sup> *ta-ma-am-ma* <sup>17</sup> <sup>m</sup>*Na*-*u-tim ki-a-am* <sup>18</sup> . . . . .*u*  
<sup>19</sup> . . . . .*ta(?)* <sup>20</sup> *ap-pu-tum*

TRANSLATION.—To . . . . speak: Thus saith Sin-a——: May Shamash for my sake grant thee life. When I and you met in . . . . you said to me: we shall die(?). Now, since you are come to . . . . Two (twice?) after Shubarum you. . . and Na-utim thus . . If you please.

## NO 10. ILUSHU-ELLATSU TO —-TABBÊ.

TRANSLITERATION.—<sup>1</sup> *a-na* <sup>d</sup>—*tab-bi-e* <sup>2</sup> *ki-be-ma* <sup>3</sup> *um-*  
*ma I[lu-š]u-ellat-su* <sup>4</sup> <sup>d</sup>*Šamaš li-ba-al-li-i[t-ka]* <sup>5</sup> *iš-tu pa-n[a-n]u-um*  
<sup>6</sup> *ki-a-am ak-bi-kum* <sup>7</sup> *um-ma a-na-[k]u-u-ma* <sup>8</sup> *al-pi marê na-ša-*  
*ma-am(?)* <sup>9</sup> . . . . .*kaspam* <sup>10</sup> . . . . .<sup>11</sup> *lu i-na ki-*  
<sup>ša</sup>-*ad* <sup>12</sup> *tu- -i-im* <sup>13</sup> *la-ga-ma-r[i]* . . <sup>14</sup> . . . . .<sup>15</sup> . . *kaspam*  
<sup>16</sup> *[ša] e-li-ka* . . . . .<sup>17</sup> *bu-mu-*

TRANSLATION.—To—-tabbê speak: Thus saith Ilushu-ellatsu: May Shamash grant thee life. In time past I spoke to you: thus I spoke: fat oxen, we will buy for me(?). (Rest too fragmentary to allow of connected translation.)

## NO. 11. ILI-IDINNAM TO SHALURUM(?)

TRANSLITERATION.—<sup>1</sup> *a-na Ša-lu(?)*-*ru(?)*-*um* <sup>2</sup> *ki-be-ma*  
<sup>3</sup> *um-ma I-li-i-din-nam-ma* <sup>4</sup> <sup>d</sup>*Šamaš li-ba-al-li-i[t-ka]* <sup>5</sup> *a-nu-um-ma*  
*ak-ka-* <sup>6</sup> *ša (u-ša)-bi-la-kum* <sup>7</sup> *iš-tu Ni-si-in*<sup>ki</sup> <sup>8</sup> *ub-lam* . . . . .  
<sup>9</sup> *ja-u-um* <sup>10</sup> *šum-ma i-na ki-it-tim* <sup>11</sup> *a-ḥi at-la-a* <sup>12</sup> . . . *tu-* . . . . .

TRANSLATION.—To Shalurum(?) speak: Thus saith Ili-idinnam: May Shamash grant thee life. Now Akka- whom(?) I sent to you, bring from Isin. Where is . . . .? If in truth you are my brother. . . . .

NOTE

L. 1. Perhaps Shalurum. The last signs seem to have been written over an erasure.

NO. 12

TRANSLITERATION.—(Six to eight lines missing) <sup>1</sup> *a-na . . . .*  
<sup>2</sup> *la te-gi(?) . . . . .* <sup>3</sup> *li-lu(?) -u-ma . . . .* <sup>4</sup> *mi-im-ma ša*  
*eḫlim(li-im)* <sup>5</sup> *u bi-tim la e-ši-im-me-e-ma* <sup>6</sup> *li-ib-bi la-i-ma-ra-*  
*aš* <sup>7</sup> *še-a-am a-na ma-aš-ka-ni-im* <sup>8</sup> *šu-li-a-ma a-na eḫlim(li-im)*  
<sup>9</sup> *me-e i-ba-a-ma mi-ig-ra-am* <sup>10</sup> *-am-ku (šu?) - - - šu-* <sup>11</sup> *šu-*  
*ḥa-ru-u iṣ-tu eḫlim(li-im)* <sup>12</sup> *ba-al-ri li-šu(?) -nim* <sup>13</sup> *<sup>m</sup>Ta-ri-bu-um*  
<sup>14</sup> *u A-bu-um-ili* <sup>15</sup> *ṭu-ur-da-nim*

TRANSLATION.—. . . let them go up(?). I do not hear anything of field or house, nor does my heart grieve. Bring up the grain to the granary. To the field the water enters. Let the helpers go from the field on the other side(?). Send me Taribum and Abum-ili.

NO. 13.

TRANSLITERATION.—(About four lines missing) <sup>1</sup> *ša <sup>d</sup>Sin-m[u-*  
*ša-lim]* <sup>2</sup> *40(?) . . u . . .* <sup>3</sup> *a-na ša-ni-[im]* <sup>4</sup> *ta-ad-di-nu*  
<sup>5</sup> *<sup>d</sup>Sin-mu-ša-[lim]* <sup>6</sup> *šar-ra-am im-ḥu-ur-ma* <sup>7</sup> *šar-ru-um li-*  
*ib-ba-ti-im* <sup>8</sup> *im-ta-la ḥu-mu-uṭ la-a-ma* <sup>9</sup> *ri-šu šar-ri-im ik-?-?*  
*ad-ka* <sup>10</sup> *eḫlim (li-im) a-na be-li-šu* <sup>11</sup> *mu-ir ap-pu-tum.*

TRANSLATION.—. . . to another you gave. Sin-mushalim went to the king and the king was filled with anger. Hasten, before the officer of the king reaches(?) you, and return the field to its owner. Don't delay.

NOTE

L. 9. It seems as if the scribe had started to write *ik-šu-da-ka* and then changed to *ik-ka-ša-ad-ka*.

NO. 14

TRANSLITERATION.—(About five lines missing) <sup>1</sup> . . . . .  
<sup>2</sup> *a-am u-l[a i-šu]* <sup>3</sup> *šum-ma i-na ki-iṭ-tim* <sup>4</sup> *a-ḥi at-la* <sup>5</sup> *ku-nu-*  
*uk-ki(?) an-ni-a-am* <sup>6</sup> *i-na a-ma-ri-i-ka* <sup>7</sup> *ša aš-pu-[r]a-kum*  
<sup>8</sup> *<sup>m</sup>Šamaš-na-šir* <sup>9</sup> *u-la na-ka-ar* <sup>10</sup> *ḥa-ta-ni ku-nu-uk-kam* <sup>11</sup> *li-*  
*zi-ba-kum-ma* <sup>12</sup> . . . . . *ut* (six to eight lines missing)  
<sup>13</sup> *<sup>d</sup>Nergal- . . . . .* <sup>14</sup> *a-nu-u-ma al-[ka-a]k-ku[m]* <sup>15</sup> *i-na*  
*na-ap-ḥa-ar šu-ḥa-ri-e* <sup>16</sup> *ki-a-am ta-ak-bi-a-am* <sup>17</sup> *um-ma at-ta-a-*  
*ma* <sup>18</sup> *[i-t]a-a-ar a-wa-ta-am* <sup>19</sup> *u-ta-ru-ni-im-ma* <sup>20</sup> *x gur še-a-am*

*a-na-di-ik-kum* <sup>21</sup> . . . . *ma ri ši-ip-ri-im* <sup>22</sup> [*ša aš-pu*]-*ra-kum-ma*  
<sup>23</sup> . . . . . *at-ta-a-ma* <sup>24</sup> . . . . . *ta-ri-ša(?)* <sup>25</sup> . . . . .  
*an-ni* <sup>26</sup> . . . . . *šu-lu-um* . . . . . <sup>27</sup> *li-kam-ma*

TRANSLATION.—. . . he has not. If in truth you are my brother, when you see this letter which I have written you—Shamash-nasir, he's not a stranger, he is my son-in-law, he will hand you the letter—. . . . Nergal—. . . . Now I am coming to you. Among(?) all the helpers you spoke to me: you said: "He will return. They will bring back word. *x gur* of grain I will give you." . . . the commission which I sent you . . . . you . . . . .

## NOTES

L. 11. *lizibakumma*: *ezēbu*, with *kunūkkam*, hardly has the meaning "eine Urkunde ausfertigen" here (cf. Ungnad, *Babylonische Briefe aus der Zeit der Hammurapi Dynastie*, 246).

Ll. 21 f. Restore [*g*]*a-ma-ri šiprim* etc.? Translate: "the completion of the work about which I wrote you"?

## NO. 15

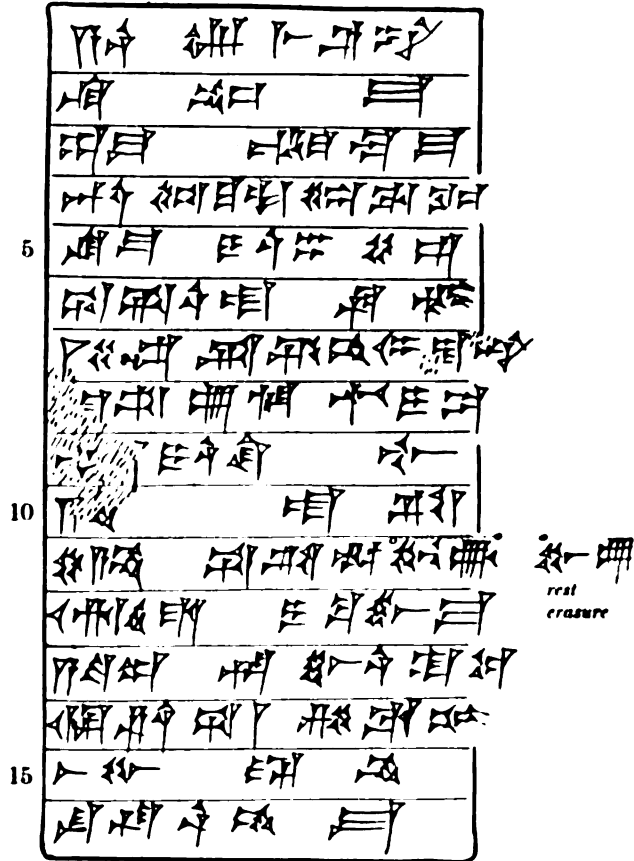
TRANSLITERATION.—<sup>1</sup> [*a-na X*] <sup>2</sup> [*k*]*i-b[e-m]a* <sup>3</sup> *X-ma* <sup>4</sup> *aš-šum* . . . . . <sup>5</sup> *a-* . . . . . <sup>6</sup> *a-nu-um-ma* . . . . . <sup>7</sup> *u* . . . . .  
<sup>8</sup> *ki* <sup>9</sup> *ia-ta* . . . *n[i-i]g-t[i-m]* <sup>10</sup> *še-a-am* . . . . . <sup>11</sup> *u* . . . . .  
<sup>12</sup> . *ma at-ti-ma a-na ka-* . . . . <sup>13</sup> [*x gur*] *še-a-am la it- -nu* <sup>14</sup> [*še-a-*]  
*am la i-ta-pa-al-* . . . . <sup>15</sup> [*šum*]-*ma a-na āli<sup>ki</sup>-šu i- li-* . . . . <sup>16</sup> . .  
<sup>17</sup> *ka-al-la-ti-* <sup>18</sup> *še-a-am i-di-in ta-bi-* <sup>19</sup> *še-a-am at-* <sup>20</sup> *x šiklu*  
*kaspim ka-la-ti-šu(?) ti* . . . . <sup>21</sup> . . . -*ma a-na-ku* <sup>22</sup> *a(?) -na*  
*pa-ni-ia la-ta-* <sup>23</sup> *ma-am-ma-an* <sup>24</sup> . . . . *u-la ta-* . . . . <sup>25</sup> [*ap-*  
*p*]*u-tum na-aš-pa-* . . . . . <sup>26</sup> *al-li-* . . . . .

## NO. 16

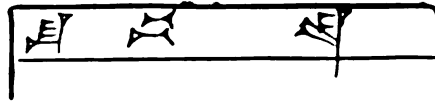
TRANSLITERATION.—<sup>1</sup> [*a-na X*] <sup>2</sup> *ki-be-ma* <sup>3</sup> *um-ma [X-*  
*ma]* <sup>4</sup> <sup>d</sup>*Šamaš li-[ba-al-li-iṭ-ka]* . . . . . <sup>5</sup> *x šiklu kaspim* . .  
<sup>6</sup> *šu-bi-lam* . . . . <sup>7</sup> *šu-bi-lam* . . . . . <sup>8</sup> *šu-bi-lam a-wi-*  
*la[m]* <sup>9</sup> *ib ḥu iṣ-tu* . . . . <sup>10</sup> *iṣ-bu-ra-am* <sup>11</sup> *šu-ri-a-am-ma*  
. . <sup>12</sup> . . *kaspam(?) lu-di-kum* <sup>13</sup> . . . *ni ba ḥa tim* . . . <sup>14</sup> . . .  
*šu-bi-lam* <sup>15</sup> *iṣ-tu ni-il-ta-* <sup>16</sup> . . . . *ḥa-nu* . . . . .

2

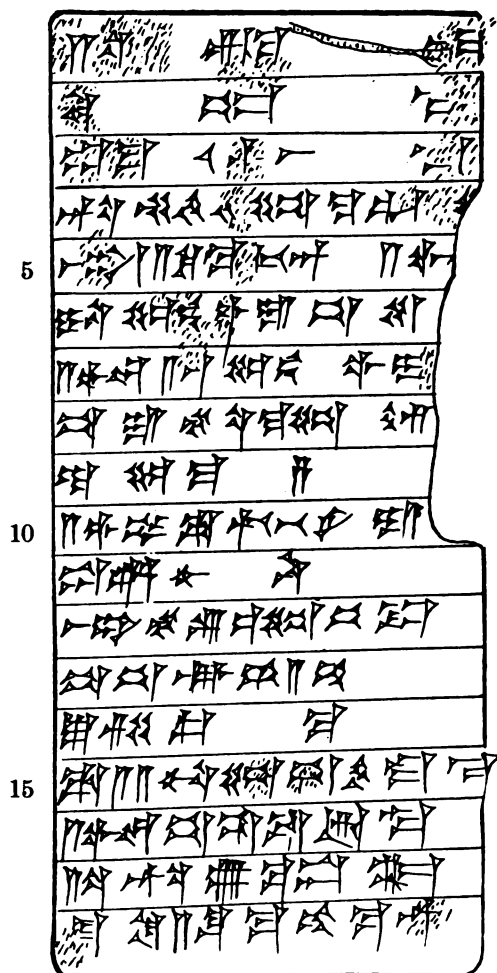
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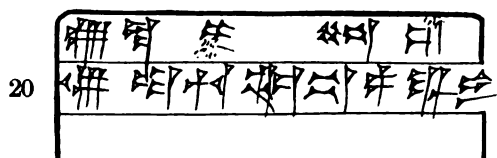
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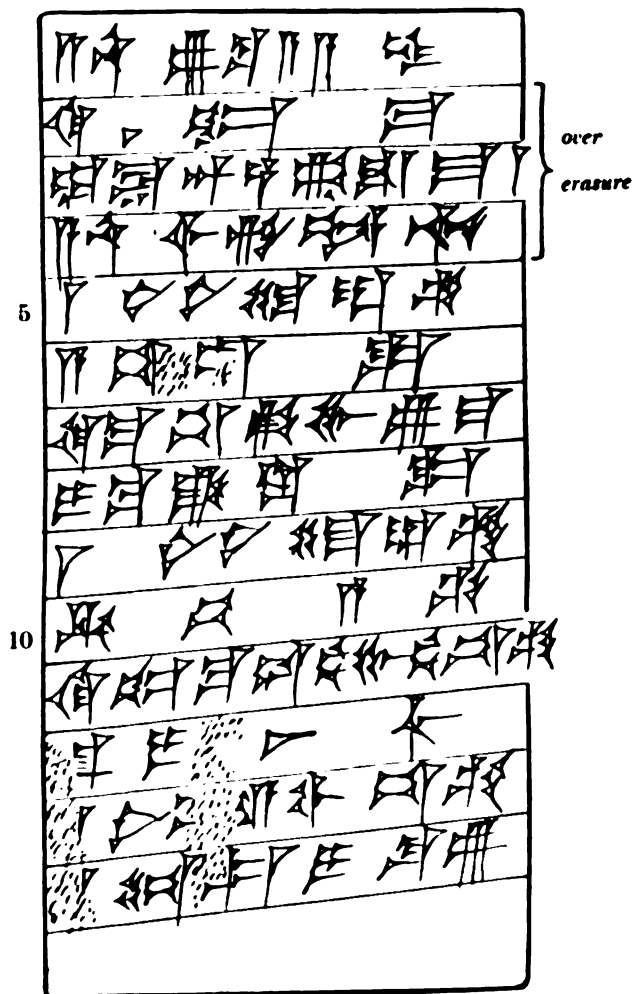


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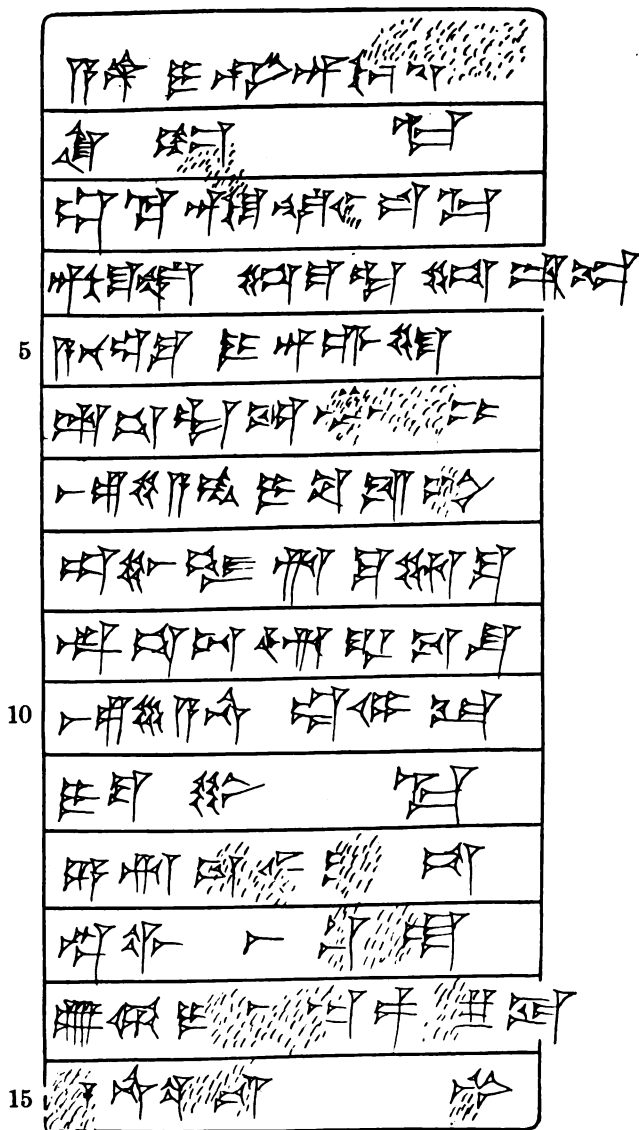
## REVERSE







## OBVERSE



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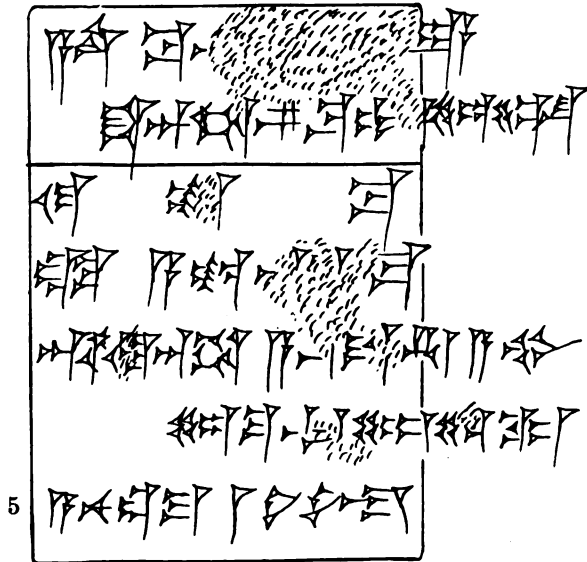
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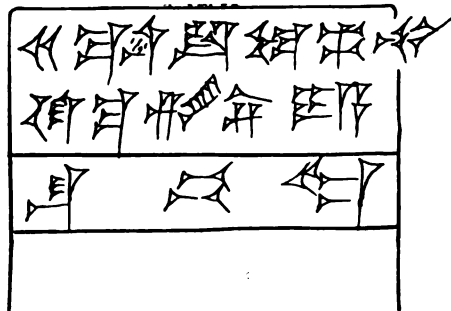
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## LOWER EDGE

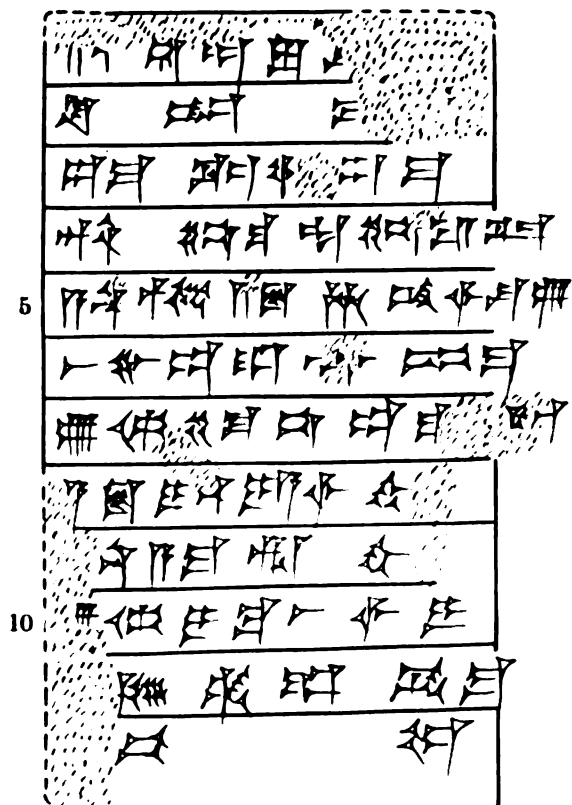


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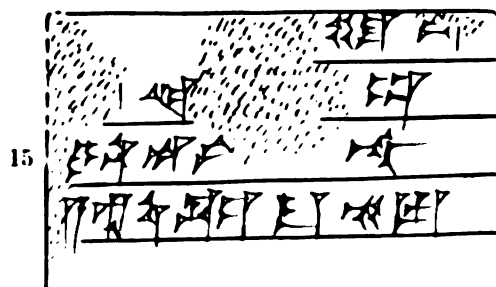


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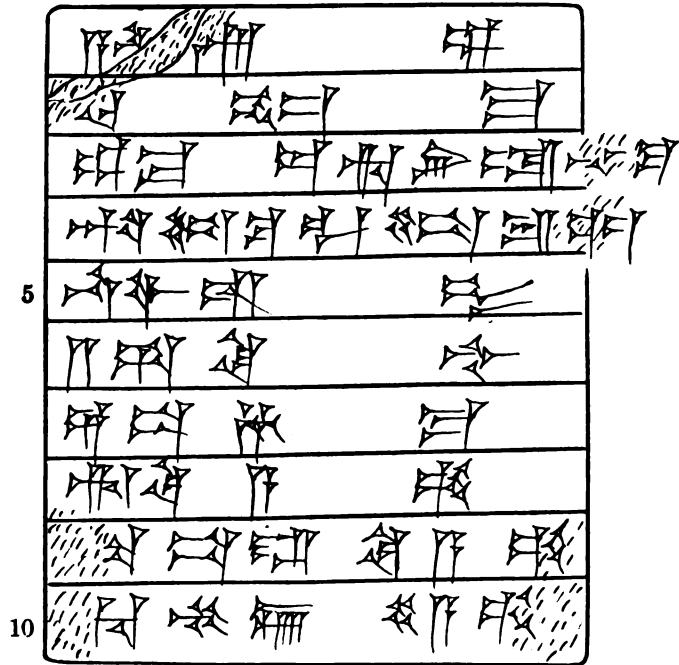
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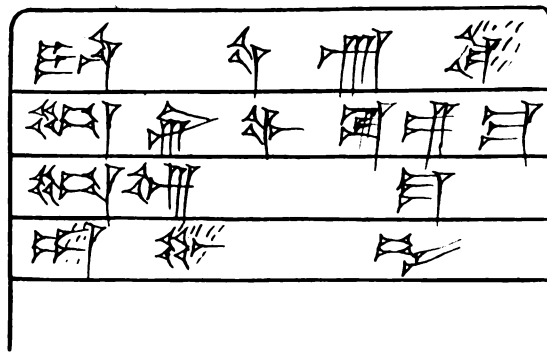
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## OBSERVE



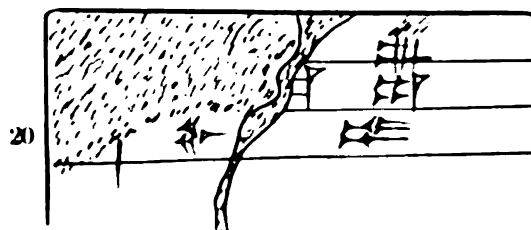
## REVERSE



OBVERSE

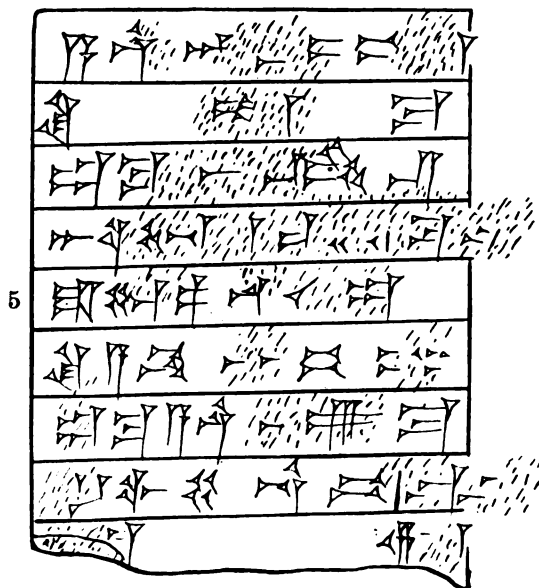


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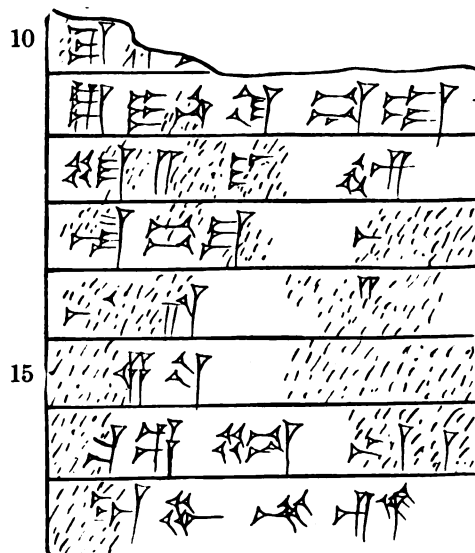


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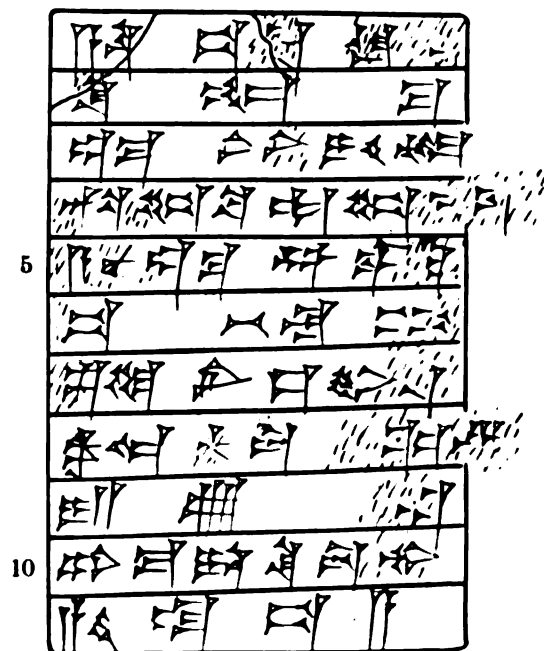


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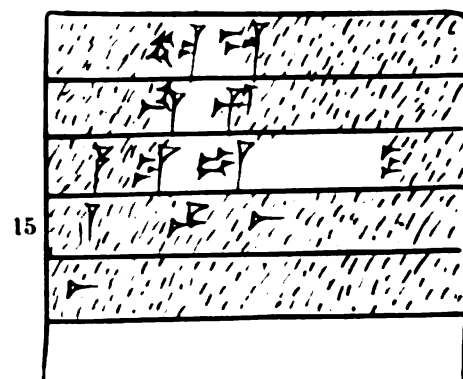


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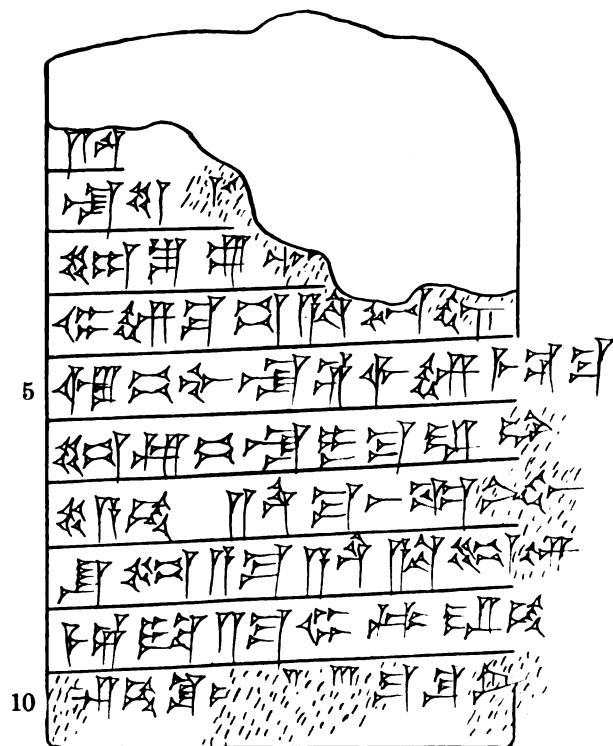


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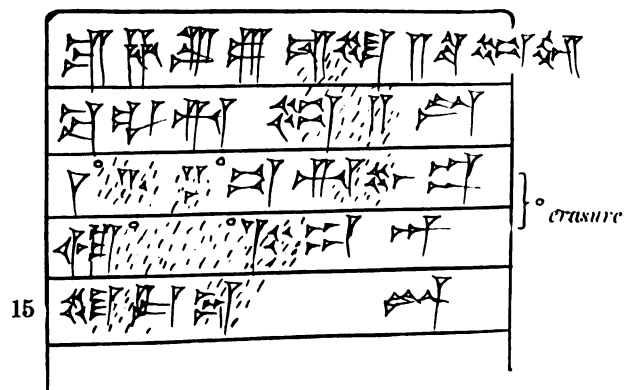




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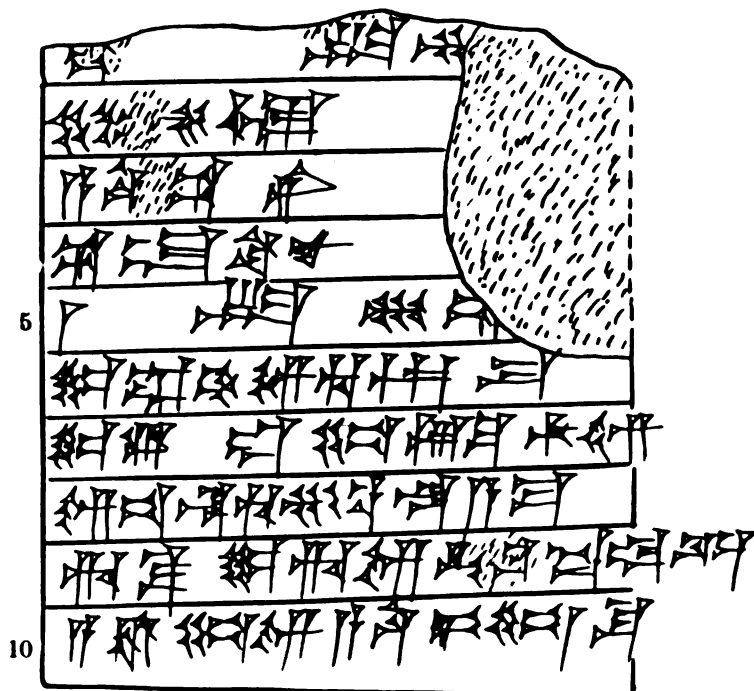


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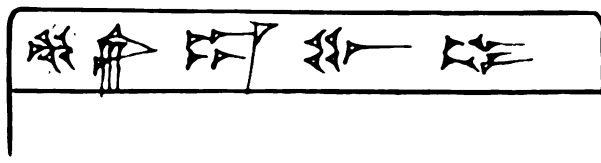


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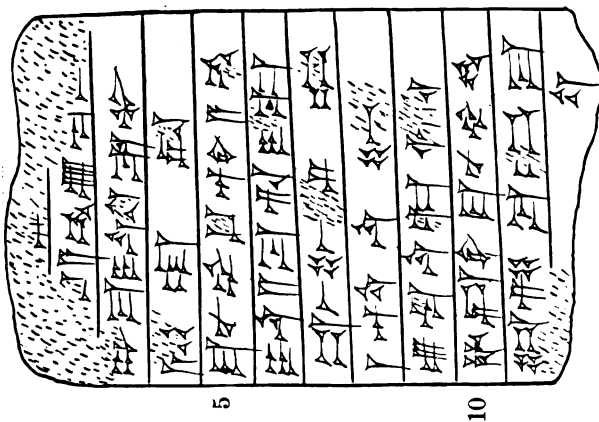


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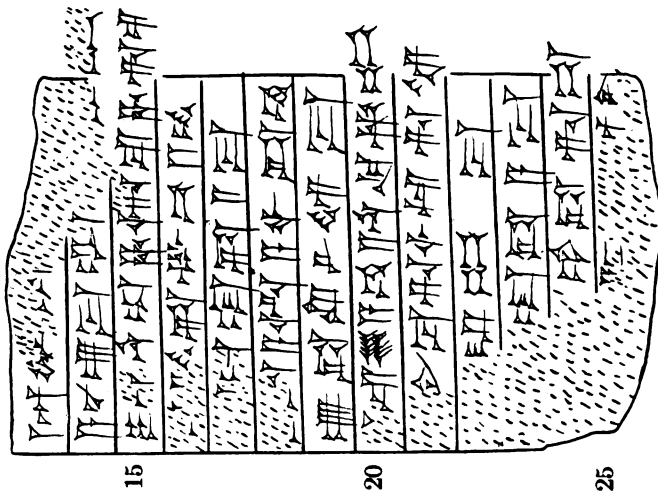


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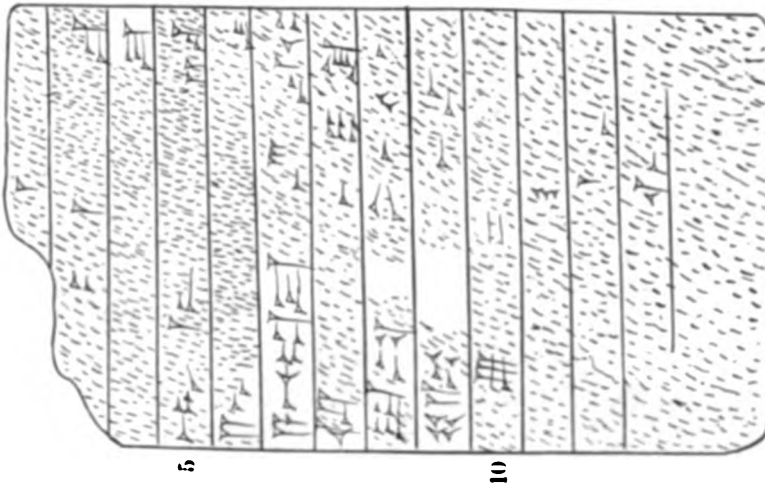


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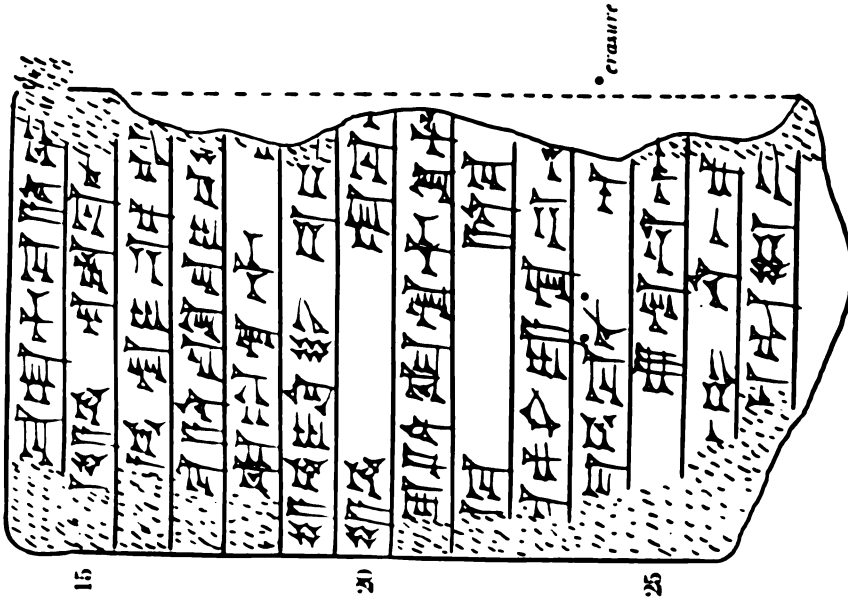


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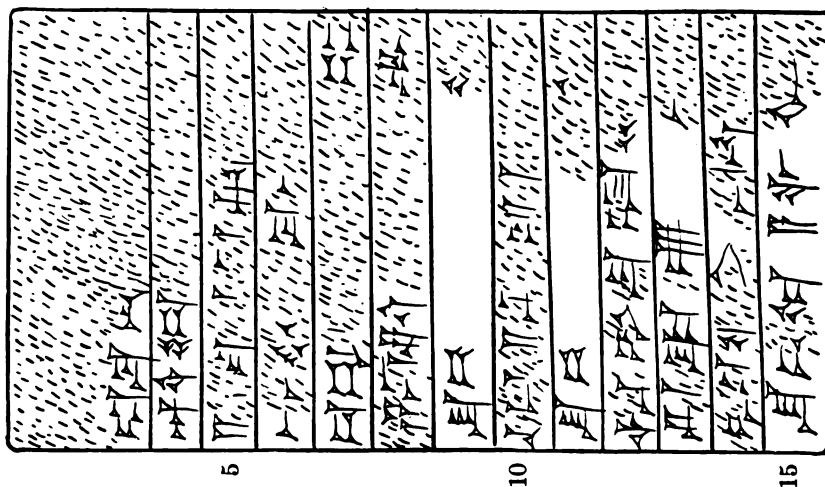


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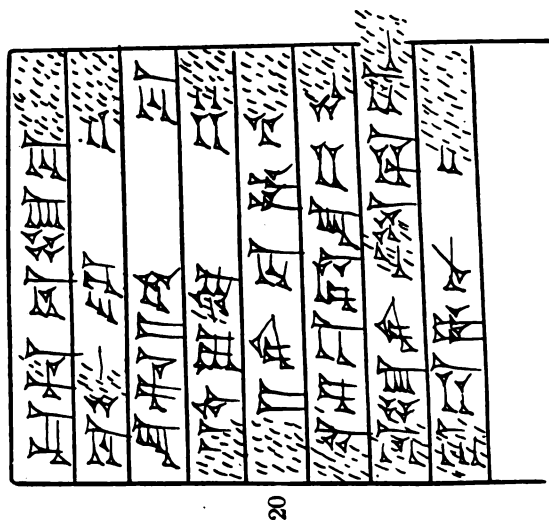


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## SEVERUS BAR SHAKKO'S *POETICS*, PART II

BY MARTIN SPRENGLING  
University of Chicago

The text here published constitutes the second half of Severus bar Shakko's treatise on *Poetics*, which in turn forms Book 3 of his encyclopedic *Dialogues*. The first half was published by Martin (cf. the previous number of this *Journal*). It contains, after a brief introductory paragraph: (1) two general questions and their answers, in which the subject-matter of poetics is divided into four parts: meter, rhyme including assonance, *gebuljā* (the figures of speech and the figurative style in general of poetry), and *taš'pā* (properly the plot or story underlying a poem); (2) five questions and answers on meter; (3) three similar sections on matters pertaining to rhyme and assonance. The second half contains six questions and answers on *gebuljā* and its subdivisions, one on *taš'pā*, one each on comedy and tragedy, and one on the difficulties of the "art" of poetry, followed by a few concluding remarks.

Throughout this second part the work of Severus exhibits the same slipshod and harum-scarum character as in the first; it is scarcely too much to say that for the most part he does not know what he is talking about, but insists on talking nevertheless. In spite of this there are sound reasons for the publication of this as well as of other parts of Severus' work. A proper study of Syriac poetics demands at least knowledge of what native masters and students of the subject thought and said. Together with Martin's work and Antonius Rhetor's *Poetics*, published in the previous number of this *Journal*, the following pages will put into the hands of occidental scholars a text, however poor, of all that native writers, belonging to the post-classical period of Syriac literature before the era of printed books, are known to have written *in extenso* and *ex professo* on the subject. Secondly, slipshod work and all, the writings of Severus are a representative factor of the civilization of the age, region, and community to which he belonged. A few sections

of his *Dialogues* have been examined from this point of view by A. Baumstark, *Aristoteles bei den Syrern*, by J. Ruska, *Das Quadrivium aus S. b. S. Buch der Dialogue* and "Studien," *ZA*, XII (1897) and by A. Merx, "Historia Artis grammaticae apud Syros" (*Abh. f. d. K. d. M.*, IX, 2). But the study of Severus' relations to Greek, Hellenistic, Byzantine, and Arabic writers is not yet complete, and its completion is largely dependent upon the publication of his works. Finally, the professed quotations in the text here published are not without value. The most important, that from Aristotle's *Poetics*, has been published and studied in D. S. Margoliouth's *Analecta Orientalia*. The others, no small number, have not all been located, much less studied. Any aid in the finding of these, as well as other assistance, publicly or privately given, will be greatly appreciated by the writer.

The manner of this publication is conditioned by the fact that it is much easier and less expensive in this country to print Syriac in zinc etching than in type. This being the case, and the attempt to edit a definitive text from one manuscript only, when others are known to exist, being hazardous, it is about as well that for purposes of collation looking toward a definitive edition the text of one manuscript should be published as it stands, errors and all. What follows, is the text of the Harvard manuscript, heretofore described in this *Journal*.















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[illegible]

## DIGEST AND NOTES

*Question 12.*—"What is *gebulja*, and into how many varieties is it divided?" The answer states that "the term *g.* is used of this, that something is made or fashioned," and then, after an inept comparison of the literary process with the making of dough from flour and of clay from clods, proceeds to the definition of the former as "a species of poetic (*depaurete*?) diction, which is artistic and skilfully devised, so that one thing is said and another intended, be it covertly, or openly." Five varieties are distinguished *ma'la* (μῦθος, *fabula*); *pele/ha* (παραβολή, *similitudo*? rather ἀλληγορία and αἶνγμα); *'abidub paršora* (προσωποποιία, *personification*); simple *gebulja* (τρόπος, τροπικὴ λέξις, *figuratio*, or, since this is the general term, perhaps the species intended is μεταφορά); *'abidub pehima* or *šupsa* (τύπος, τυπικὴ λέξις—perhaps παραβολή, certainly including it). Frequently, as will presently appear, Severus is clear neither in his expression nor in his conception of the meaning of these terms, borrowed, in his case at second or third hand, from the Greek.

*Question 13* takes up the *ma/la*. The definition is not clear as it stands, and the text is probably not in order; the "inanimate and irrational objects," about which he says the *m.* is composed, are of course derived from the Greek rhetoricians. His illustrations leave little doubt as to what is intended. The first two are from the Bible, and are not very happily chosen; Matt. 13: 31 f. is a parable, and Ezek. 20: 46–48 is properly an allegory. Judg. 9: 8–15 would have served him better, but was probably not mentioned in his "source"; if it was, then he was carried away by his infelicitous impulse toward originality. The learned Nosephos of Delphi is, of course, Josephus, i.e., Aesop. Nor have the scribe's egregious errors disguised beyond recognition the charming, if somewhat artificial, fable which Gregory of Nazianz wrote to Celeusius (not Basilius; cf. Migne, *PSG*, XXXVII, 209C): Ἐπαδὴ μοι τὴν σωπὴν ἐγκαλέεις [καὶ] τὴν ἀγροικίαν. ὦ καλὲ καὶ ἀστικέ, φέρε σοι δὴ καὶ μυθολογίῳ μῖθον οὐκ ἄμουνσον. . . . Ἐπέσκωπτον αἱ χελιδόνες [الحنان] τῶν κίκων, etc. Manifestly it is the μῦθος, the fable, more especially the literary fable, which our author has in mind as belonging to and useful for the poet's art. Of no use to the poet, according to Severus, is the common [الأمثلة], edifying folk tale, of which he gives in his inimitably addled style the following example: A certain shepherd found some bees. And when he went to town to sell them, one of the bees alit upon a drop of honey, coming quietly to eat of it. But the shepherd's dog sprang upon her and killed her, whereupon the innkeeper quarreled with the shepherd. Hearing of this, men of his tribe came to his assistance, and to the other's likewise. And so death and destruction held sway over two mighty towns because of a little dripping of honey. A few words seem to be missing near the end of this section, but Severus is ever quick to say, "Let this suffice thee."

[To be continued]

## Short Notices

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### BABYLONIAN LOAN-WORDS AS EVIDENCE OF THE INFLUENCE OF BABYLONIAN CULTURE

"Babel-Bibel" and the Pan-Babylonists may soon be forgotten, but the influence of the civilization of the Babylonians upon the other Semites, and beyond, is a problem of increasing interest. Professor Zimmern has listed a large number of words which are common to the lexicons of the Akkadian (Babylonian-Assyrian) and one or more of the other Semitic languages.<sup>1</sup> The object of these lists is to show the cultural influence of the Babylonians upon their Semitic neighbors. The author admits that it is possible in comparatively few cases to decide with any degree of certainty whether such words, which are found, say, in the Hebrew and Aramaic as well as in the Akkadian, are to be traced to a common origin (*Urverwandschaft*) or to be regarded as Akkadian loan-words in the Hebrew or Aramaic. The lists therefore contain comparatively few words about which there is little doubt as to the latter question, a larger number which are "very probably" loan-words, and a still larger number in the case of which this is only a possibility. It is only in the choice of title that Zimmern's characteristic caution was not shown. After all, lists of this kind are all that the philologists can furnish toward the problem whose solution, if ever possible, must be left for the most part to the historical research of the future.

Were it not for the fact that such is the order of the day in Germany, one would pause to protest against the slur on the integrity of the American character appended, altogether gratuitously, to this otherwise useful discussion.

D. D. LUCKENBILL

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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### OLD BABYLONIAN LETTERS<sup>2</sup>

While we look to the so-called "contract literature" for light on the social and economic conditions of the Babylonians and Assyrians, it is in the letters, official and private, of these people that we find the treasures that delight the heart of the grammarian and lexicographer. Professor Ungnad

<sup>1</sup> *Akkadische Fremdwörter als Beweis für Babylonischen Kultureinfluss*. By Heinrich Zimmern. Leipzig: Henrichs, 1915. 72 pages.

<sup>2</sup> *Babylonian Letters of the Hammurapi Period*. (University of Pennsylvania, the University Museum, Publications of the Babylonian Section, Vol. VII.) By Arthur Ungnad. Philadelphia, 1915. 50 pages and six plates of autographed texts and photographs.

has just published a volume containing 133 texts from tablets in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. With the exception of a cone-inscription of Hammurabi and two letters from the late Assyrian period, these documents are letters from the time of the First Dynasty (2225-1926 B.C.). The editor has attempted to arrange the letters in chronological sequence, but, in view of the fact that the evidence is nearly always internal, admits that "such an arrangement cannot be considered as absolutely correct." Since a full transliteration and translation of these texts is to appear in the second part of the author's *Babylonische Briefe*, only a few are translated and discussed in this volume. Among these few are the Luštamar letters which figured so prominently in the so-called "Peters-Hilprecht controversy" of odorous memory. As to content, these two letters are about as uninteresting as could be and, as was to be expected, give no definite clue as to their provenance.

The cone-inscription of Hammurabi "is especially interesting by the fact that it is the only official inscription before the time of the king's great victory over Rim-Sin." Unfortunately the English of the translation of this text is most unsatisfactory. Certainly none but those able to handle the original would grasp the meaning of the translation of ll. 39 f., "by means of the rising of the folk of my land" (p. 33).

The autographs are the work of an experienced hand and a delight to the eyes. That they are accurate reproductions of the originals is to be taken for granted.

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#### LEGAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE DOCUMENTS FROM NIPPUR

With Ranke's *Legal and Business Documents*. . . . Chiefly from Sippar (*BE*, VI, Part 1), dated 1906, the University of Pennsylvania began the systematic publication of the business and legal documents from the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon which had come into their possession through the excavations at Nippur or by purchase.<sup>1</sup> In 1909, Poebel published a second volume (*BE*, VI, Part 2) of these texts, "chiefly from Nippur." To the same age belong the Nippur texts published by Chiera as *Legal and Administrative Documents from Nippur, Chiefly from the Dynasties of Isin and Larsa*.<sup>2</sup> These Isin and Larsa documents are written in the Sumerian language and in characters which are practically identical paleographically with those of the First Dynasty texts. The latter fact is accounted for by

<sup>1</sup> Some related Nippur tablets found in the Museum at Constantinople have been published along with those found in Philadelphia.

<sup>2</sup> *Legal and Administrative Documents from Nippur, Chiefly from the Dynasties of Isin and Larsa*. (University of Pennsylvania, the University Museum, Publications of the Babylonian Section, Vol. VIII, No. 1.) By Edward Chiera. Philadelphia, 1914. 110 pages and lxi plates.

the overlapping of the dynasties of Isin, Larsa, and Babylon (p. 23). In like manner these documents coincide in "scheme" with those of the First Dynasty. As Poebel had shown (pp. 3 f.), the Babylonian scribes in drawing up their documents made use of set patterns<sup>1</sup> which they followed most mechanically. Since this matter was discussed at length by Poebel, Chiera contents himself with referring to Poebel's work. A discussion of the vexed question of the date of Rim-Sin's capture of Isin takes up a large part of the Introduction. This is followed by transliterations and translations of specimen texts.

A number of improvements in the reading of the Sumerian may be suggested at this point.

No. 1 (pp. 34 f.), l. 13: Instead of *KA*, *inim* is probably to be read. No. 5 (pp. 40 f.), l. 1: Read *nam-guda* instead of *nam-šutug*. No. 14 (pp. 51 f.), l. 4: For *šiš liš* read *šiš dili* (cf. Delitzsch, *Glossar*, p. 141, under *delim*). No. 16 (pp. 56 f.), rev. l. 3: Read *di-kud* instead of *sá-kud*. No. 17 (pp. 58 f.), l. 8: Read *tuš* instead of *gab*.

This section is marred by careless proofreading. On p. 34 we have *gin* for *gán* in the transliteration, and *sar* in the translation. On p. 35 we find references to Meissner, *APR*, while the list of abbreviations (p. 11) gives this book as Meissner, *BAP*. The numeral VI is omitted in the transliteration of No. 10 (p. 47), l. 1. "Her mother" is omitted in the translation of l. 5 of No. 13 (p. 50). In the translation of the last line of the same text, "year" is found in place of "month." The transliteration of l. 10 of No. 14 (p. 51) is incomplete. On the other hand, *sig* has been omitted in the autograph copy of No. 15, rev. l. 22 (Plate X, No. 16.)

D. D. LUCKENBILL

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<sup>1</sup> Tablets containing patterns for all kinds of legal and business documents were probably always kept at hand by the scribes. Fragments of such are found on Plates L and LI.



# GENERAL INDEX

## VOLUME XXXII

BREASTED, JAMES H., The Physical Processes of Writing in the Early Orient and Their Relation to the Origin of the Alphabet	- -	230
EDITORIAL: A Quarter-Centennial Issue	- - - - -	217
HAUPT, PAUL, Assyrt. <i>ramku</i> , "Priest" = Heb. <i>komer</i>	- - - - -	64
Critical Notes	- - - - -	141
KENNEDY, JAMES, David's Lament over Saul and Jonathan: II Sam. 1:19-27	- - - - -	118
LANGDON, S., New Inscriptions of Nabuna'id	- - - - -	102
LUCKENBILL, D.D., A Letter of Rim-Sin	- - - - -	98
Old Babylonian Letters from Bismya	- - - - -	270
Reviews of: Langdon, Tammuz and Ishtar	- - - - -	76
Zimmern, Akkadische Fremdwörter	- - - - -	309
Ungnad, Babylonian Letters	- - - - -	309
Chiera, Legal and Administrative Documents	- - - - -	310
MARGOLIS, MAX L., Hexapla and Hexaplaric	- - - - -	126
PRICE, IRA M., Some Observations on the Financial Importance of the Temple in the First Dynasty of Babylon	- - - - -	250
PRINCE, J. DYNELEY, The Hittite Material in the Cuneiform Inscriptions	- - - - -	38
SMITH, J. M. P., Some Problems in the Early History of Hebrew Religion	- - - - -	81
The Effect of the Disruption on the Hebrew Thought of God	- -	261
SPREGLING, MARTIN, Antonius Rhetor on Versification. With an Introduction and Two Appendices	- - - - -	145
Severus bar Shakko, <i>Poetics</i> , Part II	- - - - -	293
WATERMAN, LEROY, A Half-Century of Biblical and Semitic Investigation	- - - - -	219
WINLOCK, H. E., The Theban Necropolis in the Middle Kingdom	-	1

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# THE SUMMER QUARTER 1916

*at*

## THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO



THE Summer Quarter at the University of Chicago is the most largely attended of the year, more than four thousand students having registered in the summer of 1915. The University year is divided into quarters: the Autumn, Winter, Spring, and Summer. In 1916 the Summer Quarter will begin June 19 and close September 1. The First Term will begin June 19; the Second Term, July 27. Students may register for either Term or for both. Students entering at the beginning of the Second Term may register for courses for which they have had the prerequisites. The courses during the Summer Quarter are the same in character, method, and credit value as in other quarters of the year.

A large proportion of the regular Faculty of the University, which numbers over three hundred, and also many instructors from other institutions, offer courses in the Summer Quarter, and in this way many varied points of view are given to students in their chosen fields of study.

### ARTS, LITERATURE, AND SCIENCE

The University offers during this quarter, in the Schools of Arts, Literature, and Science, both graduate and undergraduate courses in Philosophy, Psychology, and Education; Political Economy, Commerce and Administration, Political Science, History, Sociology and Anthropology, and Household Administration; Semitics and Biblical Greek; Comparative Religion; History of Art, Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin; Modern Languages; Mathematics, Astronomy, Physics, and Chemistry; Geology and Geography; Botany, Zoölogy, Physiology, Anatomy, Pathology, Hygiene and Bacteriology; and Public Speaking.

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# *The Summer Quarter at*

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## THE PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS

### *Divinity*

The Divinity School is open to students of all denominations, and the instruction is intended for ministers, missionaries, theological students, Christian teachers, and others intending to take up some kind of religious work. The English Theological Seminary, which is intended for those without college degrees, is in session only during the Summer Quarter. The Graduate Divinity School is designed for college graduates. Pastors, theological teachers, students in other seminaries, candidates for the ministry, and other Christian workers, with requisite training, are admitted in the Summer Quarter.

The Chicago Theological Seminary will also be in session during the Summer Quarter, and its courses are open on the same conditions as those that obtain in the Divinity School.

### *Medicine*

Courses in Medicine constituting the first two years of the four-year course in medicine in Rush Medical College are given at the University of Chicago. For the majority of students taking up medical work for the first time, it is of decided advantage to enter with the Summer or Autumn Quarter. For the student who is lacking in any of the admission courses, or who seeks advanced standing, it is of especial advantage to enter for the Summer Quarter. All the courses offered are open to practitioners of medicine, who may matriculate as unclassified or as graduate students. Practitioners taking this work may attend the clinics at Rush Medical College without charge.

### *Law*

In the work of the Law School the method of instruction employed—the study and discussion of cases—is designed to give an effective knowledge of legal principles, and to develop the power of independent legal reasoning. The three-year course of study offered constitutes a thorough preparation for the practice of law in any English-speaking jurisdiction. By means of the quarter system students may be graduated

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# *The University of Chicago*

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in two and one-fourth calendar years. Regular courses of instruction counting toward a degree are continued through the Summer Quarter. The courses are so arranged that students may take one, two, or three quarters in succession in the summer only before continuing in the following Autumn Quarter. The summer work offers particular advantages to teachers, to students who wish to do extra work, and to practitioners who desire to study special subjects.

## *Education*

In the Professional Schools the Graduate Department of Education in the School of Education gives advanced courses in Principles and Theory of Education, Educational Psychology, the Psychology of Retarded and Subnormal Children, History of Education, and Social and Administrative Aspects of Education. The College of Education is a regular college of the University, with all University privileges, and in addition provides the professional training of elementary- and secondary-school teachers and supervisors. It offers undergraduate courses in professional subjects and in the methods of arranging and presenting the various subject-matters which are taken up in the elementary and secondary schools. The University High School, with the fully equipped shops of the Manual Training Department, is in session during the Summer Quarter, and opportunity is offered to take beginning courses in Latin and to review courses in Mathematics and History. The regular shop work, supplemented by discussions of methods, is open to teachers pursuing these courses.

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The University of Chicago is peculiarly fortunate in its environment in summer. The city of Chicago is relatively cool. High temperatures are not frequent or long continued, and the normal temperature, in comparison with that of other large cities, is low. Reports of the United States Weather Bureau show that the average summer temperature of Chicago is lower than that of most cities of its class. In addition to this advantage in weather conditions, the University has an especially favorable situation in the city. To the south stretches the Midway

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# *The University of Chicago*

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Plaisance, an avenue of lawn a block wide and a mile long; and about equidistant are Washington Park, a large recreation ground on the west, and Jackson Park, equally spacious, on the shore of Lake Michigan, to the east.

Opportunities for diversion are numerous. In Jackson Park there are golf links, and in both Jackson and Washington parks, lagoons for rowing. There are many tennis courts in both parks, along the Midway, and on the campus. Through the Frank Dickinson Bartlett Gymnasium full facilities for physical culture are given to men. The Reynolds Club offers social privileges to men. Similar opportunities for women are offered in the gymnasium, swimming pool, and clubrooms of the new Ida Noyes Hall. Many social clubs are organized among students. The Dames Club of the University of Chicago, composed of wives and mothers of students, meets every second and fourth Saturday of the month. The place of meeting will be announced in the *Weekly Calendar*.

Notable public libraries and museums, highly organized industrial plants, many typical foreign colonies, a large number of settlements, and other significant social institutions make Chicago a peculiarly appropriate center for study and investigation.

A series of public lectures in Literature, History, Sociology, Science, Art, Music, etc., scheduled at late afternoon and evening hours throughout the Summer Quarter, affords an opportunity to students and other members of the University community to hear speakers of authority and distinction in many departments of study and activity. This program will include a number of popular readings and recitals, open-air performances, concerts, and excursions to places and institutions of interest in and near Chicago.

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The complete ANNOUNCEMENT of courses for the Summer Quarter of 1916 will be issued later and may be obtained by application to

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# New and Recent Books

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The world-wide interest aroused in the history of Belgium by its present position in the great European war makes especially timely the publication of this volume by a professor of history in the University of Louvain, who recently gave a course of lectures on the history of Belgium at the University of Chicago.

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The author brings out clearly the fact that the national culture of Belgium is a synthesis, where one finds the genius of two races—the Romance and the Germanic—mingled, yet modified by the imprint of the distinctly Belgian.

A historical scholar of recognized ability, Professor Van der Essen has treated his intensely interesting subject with imagination and sympathy and yet with a careful sense of historical values and aims.

*Individuality in Organisms.* (*The University of Chicago Science Series.*) By Charles Manning Child, Associate Professor of Zoölogy in the University of Chicago.

x+214 pages, 12mo, cloth; \$1.25, postage extra (weight 1 lb. 6 oz.)

This volume is the second in "The University of Chicago Science Series," the initial volume of which is *The Evolution of Sex in Plants*, by John Merle Coulter. The new volume is an attempt to state, and to present some of the evidence in favor of, a conception of the nature of organic individuality which has gradually developed in the mind of the writer during the course of some fifteen years' investigation of the simpler processes of reproduction and development in the lower animals. It includes

also a brief critical survey of the various theories which have been developed in this field of investigation.

Dr. Child's widely known work on *Senescence and Rejuvenescence* and the present volume, concerned as they are with associated aspects of the life cycle, are in many respects complementary and together constitute a presentation of the more important results and conclusions from the writer's investigations.

*Senescence and Rejuvenescence.* By Charles Manning Child,  
Associate Professor of Zoölogy in the University of Chicago.

xii+482 pages, 8vo, cloth; \$4.00, postage extra (weight 3 lbs.)

The author of this volume, after many years of experimental investigation of the nature and origin of the organic individual, has established certain facts which afford a more adequate foundation for the general consideration and interpretation of the age changes in the organic world than we have hitherto possessed.

Certain experimental methods have made it possible, not only to follow the physiological age changes in some of the lower animals, but to learn something of their nature. The most important result of the investigation is the demonstration of the occurrence of rejuvenescence quite independently of sexual reproduction. The book differs from most previous studies of senescence in that it attempts to show that in the organic world in general rejuvenescence is just as fundamental and important a process as senescence.

*The Modern Study of Literature.* By Richard Green Moulton,  
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The author, Ernest Wilson Clement, whose long residence in Japan as a teacher, interpreter for the United States legation, correspondent, and editor has given him a wide familiarity with the country, has written a brief but discriminating account of both Old and New Japan; and for the many readers who do not care to go into the details of Japanese history the book will be found a highly interesting epitome of what has happened during the long course of Japanese development. As frequent references are made to fuller accounts, the book may well serve as an introduction to further study of the country and its institutions.

*Current Economic Problems. By Walton Hale Hamilton, Professor of Political Economy in Amherst College.*

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*The School and Society.* (Second edition, revised and enlarged.) By John Dewey, Professor of Philosophy in Columbia University.

xvi+164 pages, 12mo, cloth; \$1.00, postage extra (weight 15 oz.)

Teachers and others concerned with education will be interested to know that *The School and Society* has been revised and much enlarged. The position of authority on educational subjects which the author holds and the popularity which the former edition enjoyed are indications of the value of this work. About seventy-five pages of educational contributions from the pen of Dr. Dewey have been added, making a book which consists of eight chapters, as follows: "The School and Social Progress," "The School and the Life of the Child," "Wastes in Education," "The Psychology of Elementary Education," "Froebel's Educational Principles," "The Psychology of Occupations," "The Development of Attention," "The Aim of History in Elementary Education."

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The volumes deal incidentally with the architecture of Reims Cathedral and other Gothic work in France and should be of particular interest at the present time.

The author has chosen for description such buildings or parts of buildings as are typical of the history and development of the art, and has confined the examples almost entirely to buildings that he has himself studied. For the purposes of this work, he has revisited many of the buildings referred to, and has used original sketches for illustration rather than photographs.

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